

WHY THE U. S. A. IS HATED—*NATHANIEL PEPPER*

The World Tomorrow

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THE CARIBBEAN

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The Point of View

The World Tomorrow

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"*ALWAYS the eagle has been taking a wider flight, never a narrower one. Timorous Americans who have been afraid of our destiny have always been swept aside. So may it ever be!*"

It is from *Liberty*, the national weekly with the tremendous circulation and the euphemistic title, that we quote these lines. We like the frankness of them, for they help us see just whither we are going—whither, that is, if the advocates of imperialistic dominance by the U. S. A. win out.

Though we know well the power of economic situations in shaping foreign policies, we take sharp issue with the conception of some great Destiny, operating outside ourselves and quite above control by mortals, which is driving us south, east and west in ever-widening circles. If we have a Destiny, that Destiny is in the hands of human beings,—in the hands of the American people. Only, however, as the people know the truth of the rôle that our investors in other lands are playing can they exert a positive influence for a policy of enlightened sympathy as against a policy of greed; for a policy of non-interference as against a policy of increasing intervention; for a policy of friendly cooperation as against a policy of rule or ruin.

And nowhere is there greater need for the light of truth than on our handling of relations with the countries that surround the Spanish Main. This region long has been romantic as the scene of pirate depredations. Is it now, and in the years to come, to be the witness of a new and less aboveboard piracy?

THE WORLD TOMORROW prints in this number a group of articles on various as-

pects of our dealings with the Caribbean countries, in order to bring to light and to do its part in throwing the balance of public opinion toward a future in the Caribbean of which those citizens who come after us need not be ashamed.

AMONG the contributors of articles on the Caribbean Leland H. Jenks is professor of history at Rollins College and author of *The Migration of British Capital*; Edwin M. Borchard is professor of law at the Yale University Law School; Paul H. Douglas, professor of Industrial relations at the University of Chicago, has recently spent some time in Haiti studying conditions; Eric Walrond, a native of the Caribbean, is a journalist and author of *Tropic Death*; Jacinto Lopez is a journalist and editor of *La Reforma Social*.

IN the non-topical section the writers are Nathaniel Peffer, journalist and author, with a wide knowledge of world affairs; Grace Hutchins, Secretary of The World Tomorrow, Inc., who recently visited Gandhi on a world tour; Henry W. Hetzel, president of the Esperanto Association of North America; John B. Powell, who is an editor in Shanghai; Paul Jones is a Secretary of the Fellowship of Reconciliation; a well known writer on religious subjects; Kwei Chen is a Chinese poet studying in America, whose verse has appeared in numerous periodicals. The article by Dr. Hans Liebe, of which we print extracts, has appeared in a German Youth magazine.

Our book reviewers are James G. MacDonald, president of the Foreign Policy Association of New York; Harry F. Ward, professor of Christian Ethics at Union Theological Seminary and a leader in the movement to secure justice for China; Samuel Guy Inman, Secretary of the Committee on Cooperation in Latin America; Concha Romero James, formerly Y. W. C. A. Secretary for Latin American Interests, is representative in the U. S. A. of the Department of Education of Mexico.

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JOHN NEVIN SAYRE, *President*
KENNETH E. WALSER, *Treasurer*
GRACE HUTCHINS, *Secretary*KIRBY PAGE, *Editor*
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OFFICE STAFF: Gladys Huss, advertising manager; Lillie Becker, Barbara Conrow, Viola Falmetta, Vera Kelsey, Esther Shane.

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The World Tomorrow

A Journal Looking Toward a Social Order Based on the Religion of Jesus

Vol. X.

May, 1927

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Editorials

Let China Work It Out

If our future relations with China are to be mutually friendly and helpful, our policy must be determined in the light of two all-important facts: first, the nationalist movement in China is not confined to a political party but is rapidly embracing all classes and all sections of that vast country; and second, the day of white domination in China is rapidly ending.

The revolution of 1911 was not a mass movement. It was engineered by a relatively small group of intellectuals. The government which was established was not a democratic or popular government. The political life of China had long functioned on a decentralized basis, in spite of the monarchy, which exercised little authority over local affairs. The conception of the Chinese Republic fifteen years ago brought a great hope to the Chinese people, but beginning with the traitorous Yuan Shih-kai, the early surge of progress has been held back. The Peking administration has been only a paper government. Actual power has remained in the hands of the military governors, who usually have been nothing more than war lords. And so China has been torn by the guerilla warfare between these chieftains, whose only concern has been loot and power for themselves.

During this period momentous changes have been taking place. China today is going through not one type of revolution but several: political, educational, economic, social, and religious. Tremendous strides have been made in popular education. A literature in the vernacular has been created and the foundations laid for an intellectual renaissance throughout the masses. This intellectual revolution is by far the most significant fact of recent years in China. It has prepared the soil in which the seed sown by the Kuomintang, the political party founded by Sun Yat-sen, have sprung up with such amazing rapidity during the past two years. The present political upheaval in China differs from the revolution of 1911 in that it embraces not only intellectuals but commercial interests, indus-

trial workers and peasant farmers. For the first time in its long history a genuinely national consciousness is being generated in China. A decade ago the statement was frequently made that the Chinese were lacking in national patriotism. Now the fear is that national emotions may become so intense that they will get out of hand.

The second all-important fact is that, as a natural consequence of the emergence of nationalism in China, white domination is rapidly ending. Vestiges of foreign control may continue for a number of years. The great powers may retain control of strategic centers for a time and may even intimidate the Chinese government as did Japan with the notorious Twenty-One Demands. National unity may be delayed by partisan controversies or the personal animosities of the leaders. But nothing is more certain than the fact that the Chinese are going to gain freedom from Western control. Three hundred and fifty million people, with an increasing national consciousness, will find a way to gain their liberty.

The perpetuation of the policy of military and naval intervention in China will prove fatal. The truth of the matter is that the lives and property of foreigners in China can no longer be protected by bayonets and gunboats. The policy of armed intervention will merely increase the peril of our missionaries and merchants. There is no way to guarantee the security of life and property in a country which is in the throes of a titanic social upheaval. But, to quote the conservative *Washington Post*, "it would be an act of insanity on the part of the United States to involve itself in war with China on account of individual citizens who persist in remaining in the path of destruction."

Our China policy should include the abandonment of armed intervention, the renunciation of all special privileges, the negotiation of new treaties on a basis of complete equality, and the willingness to cooperate with the Chinese in all ways that seem mutually desirable. If we are wise, we will let China work it out. Nation-building has always proved to be difficult and danger-

ous business. China will probably be in chaos and turmoil for many years to come. But there is no reason to be despondent over the prospects for China.



Coming Out of the Mists.—from N. Y. World, March 23, 1927.

United States Steel

The recent annual report of the United States Steel Corporation reads like a fairy tale. The total assets of the company now approximate two and one-half billion dollars. During the twenty-five years of its existence, the corporation has earned net profits of 2,345 millions, of which 1,340 millions have been distributed as cash dividends, leaving 1,005 millions as the balance of surplus. During this period preferred stock has earned 180 per cent and common stock 131 per cent.

The full significance of this statement does not dawn upon one until it is remembered that in the beginning the corporation was tremendously over-capitalized and that the common stock "had no physical property back of it," to use the words of Herbert Knox Smith, United States Commissioner of Corporations. This authority also said: "It is reasonably clear that the entire issue of common stock except insofar as what may be termed 'merger value' may be considered, represented nothing but 'water.'" Yet 667 million dollars have been paid as dividends upon this *aqua pura*. And this is only the beginning of the tale. Last December the owners of common stock received a special stock dividend of 40 per cent. Then there is the further astounding fact that after all dividends have been paid, the present undivided surplus of 553 millions is considerably more than the original book value of the watered common stock.

Where did these fabulous profits come from? In part from unearned increment, in part from the consumers of steel, in part from the workers in steel. The

company boasts that the average wage paid to its 253,199 employees in 1926 was \$5.94 per day. Skilled and semi-skilled workers in steel do well. But approximately one-third of all employees, that is some 85,000, receive less than \$1,200 per year if they work the whole year. How can a man support his family in decency and comfort with such an income?

United States Steel is a good buy. That is, if you can stifle your imagination and forget that the profits which provide luxuries for you and your loved ones come from the sweat and blood of unskilled workers and their under-nourished and under-privileged families.

The Cry for Justice

"It is considered and ordered by the Court that you suffer the punishment of death by the passage of electricity through your body within the week beginning on Sunday, the tenth day of July, in the year of our Lord 1927." Spoken by Judge Webster Thayer in Dedham, Mass., to Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti on April 9. Accused of murder in 1920 these men have lived in the shadow of death for seven years. The case has been marked by repeated strikes in South America, picketing of the American Embassy in Paris, protests and petitions signed by leaders in politics and of labor representing millions throughout the world, until the names of the condemned have become a symbol. Millions believe that justice has not been done, that the pacifist and communist views of the condemned coupled with the "Red" hysteria of 1920 brought them to their doom. And the Courts have abetted this interpretation by stubbornly and persistently refusing a new trial. We urge our readers to aid every effort that is being made to save these men. We make no plea for mercy, but for justice.

An Eight Dollar Investment

We are not operating an investment service for our readers, but we do know a sure thing when we see it. And so we are letting you in on an open secret. For eight dollars you can become a member of *The Foreign Policy Association*, 18 East 41st Street, New York City, and receive all its publications. Membership entitles you to reduced rates for food at its Saturday luncheon forums. The F.P.A. is a scientific research organization. It issues a weekly bulletin, and half as often publishes an Information Service, or valuable series of pamphlets on various phases of foreign affairs. Moreover, its staff of experts are sharks at the new game "Ask Me Another." If they do not know the answer, they can tell you where to find it. There is no charge to radio fans who listen in on Saturday afternoons.

Postponement Means Permanent Retention

President Coolidge's veto message of the Filipino plebiscite on independence is a document of great significance. For many years the Filipino legislature has been passing unanimously a resolution demanding independence. It has been frequently asserted in the United States that this is the action of the politicians and does not represent the will of the people. "All right," said the politicians, "let us find out what the people want." To this proposal President Coolidge has said no.

The arguments of the President have a very familiar sound to anyone who has read the literature of imperialism. Indeed, his attitude toward the Filipinos is very much like that of King George toward the thirteen colonies. Would it not be easily possible to find utterances from the lips of King George and his ministers that parallel the following words from the President's message? "The United States cannot, if it would, avoid the obligation of deciding the degree of self government which the people of the Philippine Islands are capable of sustaining at any given time. . . . Independence is an intangible ideal which has often brought disillusionment and disaster in its train. . . . The ability of a people to govern themselves is not easily attained. History is filled with failures of popular government. . . . I believe the entire discussion of the question of immediate or proximate absolute independence is untimely. . . . I must state my sincere conviction that the people of the Philippine Islands have not as yet attained the capability of full self government. How can this ultimate goal best be obtained? Certainly not by constant agitation and opposition. . . . A plebiscite on the question would tend to divert the attention of the people toward the pursuit of more political power rather than to the consideration of the essential steps necessary for the maintenance of a stable, prosperous, well-governed community."

By what right do we arrogate to ourselves sole authority for determining whether twelve million people who dwell on the other side of the earth shall govern themselves or be ruled by an alien power? In what regard is our position any more justifiable than that of the English Tories a century and a half ago? Or that of France in Syria or Great Britain in Egypt?

If our major desire were to perform our "full duty by the people of the islands or to discharge our obligations to civilization," we would adopt a Philippine policy with some such provisions as the following: first, complete independence if the Filipinos desire it; second, treaties with Great Britain, Japan, and other powers guaranteeing the independence and integrity of the islands; third, commercial treaties with the Filipinos

continuing any trade or tariff measures which are mutually advantageous; fourth, the continuance of educational, religious, and sanitary efforts by American citizens if such services are desired.

The real reason why Filipino independence is being postponed is revealed in such phrases as the following from the Thompson report: "We need the Philippines as a commercial base. . . . There are approximately 1,500,000 acres of land suitable for the production of rubber, and in some respects this acreage is better suited for the purpose than land now producing rubber in Java, Sumatra, and the Malay Peninsula. . . . The islands have great possibilities in mining."

If our commercial and financial interests become much more deeply entrenched in the islands, the Filipinos may as well kiss independence goodbye forever. Postponement means permanent retention.

Down in Carolina

Again North Carolina takes the lead. This time with an Institute of Human Relations at the state university under the auspices of the student Y.M.C.A. For six days the institute dealt realistically with international, racial, and industrial problems. No restrictions were placed on the speakers, who represented very diverse points of view. Included in the list of visiting leaders were James Weldon Johnson, Herbert Adams Gibbons, Will W. Alexander, Alva W. Taylor, James Myers, Arthur Rugh, Professor E. M. Patterson, Cameron Beck, President W. L. Poteat, J. J. Cornelius, and Kirby Page. In addition to two public meetings daily, numerous classes were turned into seminars for the discussion of social questions. Interviews and conferences with various leaders were arranged. For a week the entire university thought and talked about world affairs, industrial life, and racial contacts.

This is one of the things that colleges and universities should be doing throughout the year. But in no section of the country is this true. In the South only a bare beginning has been made. Very few institutions offer courses in international problems. Classes in racial relations are increasing in number, but are still relatively scarce. Many Southern colleges do not offer courses in economics, and in only a few institutions are the social sciences adequately presented.

In its curriculum, as well as in this institute, North Carolina is leading the South. Its president is alert and aggressive, and many of its faculty members are earning national reputation in their respective fields. Not many universities in the South would invite a distinguished Negro like James Weldon Johnson to address its student body as did North Carolina in its historic Memorial Hall.

Why America Is Hated

NATHANIEL PEFFER

BUT why should it not be hated? In the nature of things what else is to be expected?

First of all is the fact that the human animal is what it is. The United States is astride the world. The rest of the world could not be expected to relish that, no matter which nation were there. And it does not. If there were no other factor making for resentment that alone would be enough. Nor is its effect mitigated by the disparity in wealth, influence and power between the United States and all of Europe. If this disparity were the result of inherent American superiority or of some positive American achievement the feeling of Europe would be different in degree but not essentially in kind. For we never like those who have what we want and lack, we never take very charitably the success of others where we have failed. That is an unfortunate human weakness but one to be calculated for in any human situation—a datum of terrestrial existence.

The disparity, however, results from no inherent American superiority, from no positive American achievement. It is not that America has come up but that Europe has gone down; this point is too obvious to be labored. True, the war was of Europe's own making, a product of the European system. But the individual European is no more blameworthy for the war than the individual American is praiseworthy for his country's comparative immunity from wars. And the feeling of Europe toward America is only the cumulative feeling of a vast number of individuals. They only see their world laid waste, their own lives shattered, their generation bereft of hope, perhaps their posterity, too, without hope; for many in Europe even if they have not read Spengler believe the course of European civilization is run. And across the Atlantic they see a people like themselves who, endowed by fortune with a land of milk and honey and saved by geography from periodic blood-lettings and destruction, wax fat and sleek and complacent.

Mark the word complacent. It would be more than human for Europe not to bear the resentment that envy breeds, even if the contrast were not rubbed in. But America, while it has inherited the earth, knows not meekness. Modesty, reticence, delicacy, sensitiveness—when have they been conspicuous as American traits? And when less than now? Are Americans unostentatious in the display of their wealth or reserved in its use, or backward even in calling attention to their benefactions? At the lowest

level: how many American tourists have there been in Europe who, denied a reservation on the next deluxe express, have announced gustily and at large: "Well, that's service all right, and after all the U. S. has done for you people"? I have heard two myself. How many more must there have been? And at the highest level: how many Europeans have not read some characteristic quotation from a speech by Calvin Coolidge dwelling unctuously on American generosity, among other virtues? And how many, no matter how philosophical by temper and training, have not had then a fleeting impulse to sadism? And what may be called Coolidgeism is more common in America and more accurately symbolical of contemporary Americanism than intellectual Americans like to believe. If Europe's draught is bitter, we have done nothing to make it less unpalatable.

AND not only Europe, but the whole world, including some parts of America, is mortally sick of American idealism. Say better, it is mortally sick of American talk of American idealism. Now, there is nothing new in this as a phenomenon. As anyone remembers who has gone through an American public school, Americans have always been obsessed by the conviction that in conduct no less than in aspirations they were loftier than other men, that they were of a less mundane breed. All nations believe that of themselves, of course. But nowhere else has it mounted to such a fanatical obsession, nowhere else is it taken as an active premise of everyday life, even in the routine of international politics. The most vulgar and raucous and go-getting American salesmanager, bursting with dollars garnered from the sale of shoddy through the aid of gawdy and misleading advertising, really believes that he is actuated by motives not of this earth. There is nothing psychologically out of line in the word Service as now used in the United States or in the concepts it expresses. Now, as long as the United States was relatively unimportant in the world, this did not matter much. It was known only to such aliens as had been here or had listened to the conversations of American tourists abroad. And they could laugh. It affected them only as one phase of the human comedy. What did it matter what Americans thought of themselves so long as other people were independent of America?

BUT there are few living beings on this planet who are today independent of America. Their representatives sit in the reception rooms of American bankers seeking loans so their governments can continue functioning, their resources are being pledged to American corporate interests, their industries are forced to take in American capital so they can continue operating, their art objects have to be sold to American millionaires to meet elemental needs, their artists can play and sing and paint only for Americans, because only Americans can pay. Their governments can take no action in the larger sphere of affairs without giving heed to America. Even Great Britain, queen of empires, cannot now proceed, as always in the past, to shoot up Chinese towns, kill Chinese coolies, unseat Chinese governments and cow Chinese opinion in order to maintain its encroachments on Chinese soil and safeguard the immemorial right of its subjects residing in China to clout Chinese on the head when the spirits move. It must wait until a timorous government in Washington can be stiffened to decision and a passive public opinion throughout the United States can be frightened with Red spectres and stampeded by doctored reports of atrocities. Meanwhile the Chinese grow stronger, the opportunity may pass and British stakes of empire be lost.

America's estimation of itself does matter to the world now and vitally. And by the very fact of this dependence the smug gabble of American idealism which has been dinned into the world's ears since the war has been all the more obnoxious. The gratuitousness of the advice we have poured out on Europe since 1918, the gist of which is that European nations must save themselves by being like ourselves, would have rubbed under any circumstances. Under the conditions of life in Europe since the war it has rasped. How many official pronouncements by Americans on world affairs, how many public statements, how many editorials refrain from dwelling on American idealism in international relations as contrasted with European fallibility, on America's saving of Europe? If their tenor is against "entanglements" with Europe, it is on the ground that we must be untainted; if against "isolation," it is on the ground that we shall take no action but give Europe the benefit of our advice and example.

LOOKED at objectively, where is this idealism? Where is this differentiation from other men for which we thank God? In the matter of Mexico; or Nicaragua; or Haiti; or Santo Domingo; or Lady Cathcart; or Negroes; or Sacco and Vanzetti? Or consider the Far East, where we have a prescriptive right to altruism. Is there any living Chinese who ever has talked with three Americans for ten minutes

without being reminded of America's notorious "friendship for China"? Or who has read two American state papers on Far Eastern questions without meeting the same phrase? And wherein lies this friendship? True, we have never joined—until recently!—in bombardments of Chinese ports. But it is also true that while we have kept aloof from the shooting, after the Chinese have submitted we have come in and claimed all the privileges that have been wrested from China by the bombardment—and then, while sharing all the privileges, laid balm to ourselves that our government was not like other governments and we not like other men. We, now, not being imperialists, we believe in justice for China. And how often have we not proposed treaties with abstract pledges of justice to China? But now that China has asked it in the concrete, has asked the withdrawal of foreign encroachments on its sovereignty and self-respect, have we acted differently from, say, the British? Have we offered to give up more than they? Our Marines march side by side with the British in Shanghai, our gunboats lie side by side with the British gunboats outside Nanking. Without regard to the specific issues involved, wherein, to the Chinese eye, do we differ from the British? Where, to Chinese analysis, is American idealism? Why not, then, if you are a sophisticated Chinese, snicker to yourself at American idealism, if you do not, in fact, conclude that it is snuffling hypocrisy and gag at it? And if you are a Japanese!

I have not the space for more than reference to what, although intangible and only subconsciously felt, may be more important. Probably nothing is more precious to men collectively than the integrity of their culture and civilization. And he who runs through the world on travel bureau tours may see that the world is being Americanized. In the minds of thoughtful men of Europe and Asia alike, to say nothing of Mexico and the Argentine, this is the gravest charge against America, that its spirit is conquering the world. And to men who cherish the subtle values of their civilization, it is a galling conquest, the more galling because it is in just those values that American civilization is barren. This charge, however, I believe to be unjust. For America is only the unconscious carrier of a force more powerful than itself. Not Americanism but mechanism is conquering the world, and that is American only insofar as there were no obstructive forces of tradition to withstand mechanism here. From the steam engine and the application of electricity in industry to large-scale production, standardization of folksongs, habits, cities and thought, advertising campaigns and Rotary is a logical and irresistible evolution. It would have come anywhere. America is the horrible example and foretaste. If Vienna and

Florence flinch at the prophetic spectacle of Chicago and Denver, the reaction is understandable but the condemnation of Chicago and Denver unjust. For both were probably doomed to the same fate, if Chicago and Denver had never been. Condemnation may be unjust, but in a fallible world it is human. And logical or illogical, its effect is the same.

I HAVE said nothing about war debts. Why should I? They are symptoms, not causes. They are counters for shrewd statesmen to play with in the game of using public opinion. Nor have I said anything about the failure to join the League of Nations,

to "co-operate" with Europe. Why should I? What serious and intelligent European, knowing our present administration, really believes that has made much difference in the last few years? The real causes of the universal suspicion and dislike of America lie deeper. Some of them are quite natural, if not altogether valid when examined scientifically. America's part has been to give them validity. Suspicion and dislike were probable in any cause. We have made them inevitable, and largely justifiable. And in result, of course America is hated. Why should it not be?

Gandhi in the Villages

GRACE HUTCHINS

IN an open wide space of Bettiah, a village in the province of Bihar, ten thousand or more men sat on the ground in a vast circle and waited for Gandhiji (the great Gandhi). All were in white, loose garments and wore turbans or the white cap which is the mark of a Gandhi follower. There were bullock carts parked under the trees but most of the people had come on foot, many from distant villages.

At the focus was a table placed on a small platform. In all the throng of men we were the only two women, and we were conspicuously honored as visiting Americans with places near the table. An Indian police officer moved forward to interrogate us. Why were we there? Where did we come from? Where were we going? Names, please, and address? Had we been at the meeting of the National Congress? Why did we care to hear Gandhi? When would we leave India? Answers to the questions were reported to a superior officer.

An hour passed. Two elephants at the back of the crowd moved up and the four or five men on each elephant had gallery seats for the meeting. More people and still more enlarged the circle. But Mahatmaji was delayed. He had been in four other villages that day, speaking in each place, and was now coming by car to Bettiah. These three months on tour mean a heavy schedule. He was at Gauhati, north of Calcutta, for the Indian National Congress, that gathering where the inscription over the platform read, "Freedom is more precious than life." But he had refused there to give the political lead for which some of his associates in the Congress had hoped. Srinivasa Iyengar, elected president of the National Congress for this year, is a middle-of-the-road man, but not strong enough to unite the differing factions in India. Gandhi's program for the immediate future is non-political. Many people in India had told us that his political in-

fluence was dead, but he and his own followers believe he is doing the long preparatory work now which will make India ready for Swaraj.

Each year the Indian National Congress votes down a resolution, introduced by a minority, to define Swaraj as complete independence for India. In this discussion Gandhi is on the side of the majority. He has stated since the Gauhati Congress that the term Swaraj includes the idea of out-and-out independence, but is larger in its meaning. "Let the content of Swaraj grow with the growth of national consciousness and aspirations. . . . Swaraj means even under dominion status a capacity to declare independence at will. . . . What India will finally have is for her and her alone to determine. . . . After all, the real definition will be determined by our action, the means we adopt to achieve the goal. If we would but concentrate upon the means, Swaraj will take care of itself."

WE were thinking about this man who could bring together ten or twelve thousand people from the countryside in every village where he speaks, twenty thousand sometimes (as reported even in the British papers), when a member of the local Congress committee came to call us, "Mahatmaji would like to see you now. He has reached Bettiah but he will not be at the meeting for another hour. Will you come?" We followed and a Mohammedan lawyer drove us in his American car slowly through the crowded village streets. People, people on both sides of the road, leaving scarcely room for a car to move, were waiting for Gandhiji. One man on a shed roof was holding out an elephantiasis leg as if he thought a blessing from the great Mahatma as he passed would cure the disease. We turned in to a courtyard, and had reached the As'ram, or dwelling, where Gandhi was staying.

A small room, with the ground as a floor, had the

usual raised stone platform for sleeping and for sitting. Mrs. Gandhi was standing by the step. A high forehead, quiet far-apart eyes, and that Oriental poise which shames the bustling American, made us wish we could have a talk with her also, but she is true to Hindu customs and prefers to stay in the background. Yet in Africa she went to prison in protest against unjust laws enacted against Indians. At the Satyagrah As'ram, Gandhi's home in Ahmedabad, she serves tea quietly to the many pilgrims and visitors who come to see her husband.

Leaving our shoes at the step we sat down on the platform floor and almost immediately Mahatmaji came. He had been having his afternoon bath after the dust of the villages and was dressed now in white homespun shawl and garment such as we had seen in the exhibit of khaddar (homespun cloth or wool) at the Gandhi As'ram in Benares. His large, quiet, radiant smile is never conveyed by any picture.

As Gandhi does not eat after sunset, he took his evening meal while we talked; hot milk in a brass bowl, taken with a spoon, some raisins and three oranges. He himself sat on the white quilt, the only "furniture" in the room. Beside him sat Mehadio Desai, who acts as secretary for Mahatmaji and helps to edit *Young India*.

WE talked of *ahimsa*, the principle of non-violent resistance which Gandhi finds both in Christianity and in the Hindu Bhagavad Gita, and which he is now seeking to demonstrate to the modern world. There is no word in English which gives its meaning. Gandhi calls it "civil resistance" as opposed to criminal resistance and quotes Thoreau's *The Duty of Civil Disobedience*. When we told him that some of those who watched the Passaic mill workers using that principle through ten months of a strike had called it "Hindu resistance," he said quickly, "But that exalts my religion above others. The principle is universal. My people have not yet proved that they can keep the vow of *ahimsa* consistently, but they are perhaps more nearly ready for it than the people of any other country. We won by *ahimsa* in Africa, and we shall win by it in India."

To Gandhi and to his followers, the principle goes deeper than a resolution not to use violence in action. Of the five vows taken by his disciples at the Satyagrah As'ram, the vow of *ahimsa* means, "It is forbidden to harbor an uncharitable thought about anyone who may regard himself as an enemy. The person so dedicated must not resent injury, or desire that harm should come to an enemy, or use any violence even to guard the honor of those who are in his charge." As Mahatmaji said to us, "I must begin with myself. If I am proud or ruffled that is violence."

Probably the essence of the Gandhi movement has

always been more religious than political. Gandhi's definition of religion, as he gave it to us, is "action taken in the service of truth." While to him God is responsive and while he spends time each day in prayer and meditation, yet he does not claim that such a belief in God is an essential part of religion.

AND so there are many people in India today, Indians, English and Americans, who regard Gandhi as an unpractical dreamer of dreams. They will tell you that he is an idealist, sincere but mistaken in his understanding of India's present needs. It is his emphasis upon *swadeshi* that seems especially unpractical to the Western-trained mind. The obligation of *swadeshi* is to be satisfied with what the individual and his neighbors can produce. To Gandhi the power machine is an evil that cannot be mastered and we must turn back to the individual machine to free us from the tyranny of things. The khadi, or spinning, campaign is not merely an expedient to relieve India's poverty, but the way to release from the evils of industrialism. Khadi production and sale increased by more than fifty per cent during the year 1925, according to the last report of the All-India Spinners' Association (started by Gandhi in 1925), and the figures so far available for 1926 indicate a larger increase. Almost every province has begun to organize production within its own area. A family in debt to the money-lender, who can and does strangle the peasant in India, is able by hand spinning to add a little to its beggarly income. Hand spun wool is brought in to centers where it is bought and sold, without profit to any middle man. To help maintain these khadi centers, and to promote the campaign, Gandhi and his fellow workers are now raising what is called the All-India Deshabandhu Memorial Fund for Khaddar organization. It would be difficult for the government to interfere with this organization although khadi promotion has already greatly reduced the sale of machine-made cloth and especially of *British* machine-made cloth in India.

IT was on khadi and on "untouchability" that Gandhi spoke to the waiting crowds at Bettiah that afternoon. We were driven back to the meeting as the sun went down, and lanterns were lit by the time Mahatmaji came. The throng from the roads pressed in behind his car and surged forward to see and hear. He went up on the small platform and sat down on the table. Formal addresses of welcome were presented by the local officials, but no one could hear them, for the people were all talking and moving forward. Then Gandhi stood up on the table and said in Hindi, "Please be silent." The voice that came from such a slight figure was unexpectedly rich and deep, and those who could hear it passed the word to the thousands at the back. There came silence and then Mahatmaji spoke,

quietly, almost without gesture, and "the common people heard him gladly."

If India is to prosper, he said, it must be through her 700,000 villages and not through cities. Spinning and khaddar constitute a universal program for the country. No other organization is capable of giving employment to an almost unlimited number of people. But "untouchability" keeps India from the universal love without which there can be no Swaraj. While there are outcasts regarded as unworthy to enter the temples or to do anything but the lowest work, Hindus cannot free themselves from bondage. Untouchables have the same sentiments and passions as other human beings, and if the sum total of virtues and vices were considered, high-castes would be found on the debit side and untouchables on the credit side. Let the evil of untouchability be abolished.

In December a Hindu Swami, widely known as a

holy man, was murdered in Delhi by a Mohammedan. The individual act is repudiated by Mohammedans throughout India, but the murder has intensified the bitterness of feeling between Hindus and Mohammedans. But, said Gandhi, "Hindus should forgive and forget the action. Unity must come in India."

A collection was taken up for the Khaddar fund. Then suddenly the throng of people moved forward, like a tidal wave, toward the table. Disciples with bamboo staves silently raised their hands but the waves of people beat upon the little platform. They wanted only to be near Mahatmaji. "He is speaking to you," one of the disciples said to us, and we turned to find Gandhi with a hand out to help us up on the platform. "You will be safer up here," he said, with that wide smile, "but as soon as I go now, the people will go." He was gone, and the people followed.

The next day, Monday, was to be his weekly day of silence. He would read and think and pray.

World Brotherhood and World Speech

HENRY W. HETZEL

THE world in its distrust of visionaries and its impatience with utopia-builders has been all too ready to declare impossible any common speech for humanity. In Europe, however, where the heterogeneous population has long been bedeviled by linguistic difficulties and to some extent in other parts of the world, the problem is finding a solution,—attempted at least,—which in its extent and variety of application is startling to the uninitiated. Of course, no sane person seeks to abolish the use of the national tongues for home use; this would obviously be undesirable even if it were possible. Yet none of these can serve the common purpose. Not only are they distressingly numerous, exceedingly cumbersome, illogical and difficult to master, but each is notoriously tinctured with the characteristics, psychology and even prejudices of the country where it is native.

An international congress of the usual kind is a striking illustration of a world cooperating under a language handicap. The polyglot atmosphere and the corps of interpreters handling more or less imperfectly the three or four "official" languages, all make for the inevitable separation into several mutually uncomprehending groups of participants. Hardly a person of those present can follow all that is orally delivered and all must depend upon much abridged, cold and uninspiring translations. Perhaps a distinguished scientist or leader of thought,—one whose words are worth traveling half-way round the world to hear,—is understood by only a fraction of the

Congress, while the remainder loaf in the anterooms, or wander off in common language groups.

FOR a refreshing contrast to this Babel one must turn to a congress using the International Language Esperanto. Here you are in a large hall seating upwards of a thousand people (five thousand attended the Nürnberg Congress of 1923), representing thirty or forty different nations and about as many national tongues. Through the entire eight days not a single interpreter is seen, heard, or needed, for everyone uses the speech given to the world just forty years ago by Dr. L. L. Zamenhof of Warsaw. In addition to the daily business sessions there are certain to be several excursions, at least one church service, a musical concert or two, a dozen "side congresses" for certain special interests,—professional, scientific, humanitarian, religious, etc.—a travel talk or two, a play or an opera (sometimes both) and even a vaudeville show. There is always some broadcasting over the radio and,—not least in the program from the standpoint of pleasure,—"La Internacia Balo," wherein the dancers display their respective national costumes. And Esperanto alone is spoken!

The tourist who after a long and toilful study of a foreign tongue acquires a superficial acquaintance with it and the proudly-proclaimed ability to "get along" by its aid (in only a limited section of foreign territory, be it noted) cannot know the joy that belongs to the traveler who uses the international

speech. The latter has acquired in a remarkably short time, as language learning goes, a tool usable in all lands.

THOUSANDS who have visited foreign shores with no other language equipment than their native speech and the auxiliary tongue are enthusiastic in their praise of the practicality of Esperanto and of the fine spirit of helpfulness which animates their fellow-thinkers in relations with visitors. No tourist agency or professional guide can supply the friendly welcome and assistance that everywhere await the Esperantist. The bond of union is something more than the mere possession of a language in common; it is nothing less than a fine faith in the possibility of a better world through complete mutual understanding. In a score of European cities today there are Esperanto policemen, specially trained to be of service to the traveler who has taken the little trouble to meet the world on the linguistic middle ground.

In all these international gatherings, personal contacts of tourists, and, in fact, everywhere where Esperanto is used orally, one striking fact is noticed, —the absolute uniformity of pronunciation. In spite of the fact that the users come from points far removed from one another, often literally from the ends of the earth, and in countless cases having acquired the language solely from the text book, without a teacher or a phonograph record or radio broadcast, there is no more variation in sounding the vowels and consonants than is observable where everyone speaks the same mother tongue. It is impossible to tell the nationality of a person, as far as speech is any indication, and the laughable mistakes that are made in guesses at nationality are among the commonplaces in Esperanto gatherings. Where the Norwegian talks like the Russian and both like the Italian the sense of nationality is completely lost and all but forgotten. Can the history of language learning, anywhere or at any time, furnish a parallel to this stupendous and significant fact? Does not Esperanto, therefore, stand forth as a symbol of, and an important instrument for realizing, a world of true internationalism?

In the contemplation of such a picture, full of promise as it is, so much are we ruled by "bandwagon" psychology, that it is agreeable to note the approvals that have been given to the International Language. Though the League of Nations in 1921 did not, as was urged, adopt a resolution recommending the teaching of Esperanto in the schools of the member-states, the proposition, ably championed by Lord Robert Cecil, was contained in resolutions brought forward by as many as thirteen nations. The League did, however, prepare and publish a report showing the extent to which Esperanto is approved

and used, altogether an eye-opener to those not familiar with the progress of the movement. The International Labor Office, connected with the League, has for several years maintained a regular Esperanto Press Service to broadcast its researches. The League's Committee for Intellectual Cooperation has recently established a similar department. Two years ago the League unanimously recommended the acceptance by the telegraph systems of the member-states of telegrams in Esperanto under the same conditions governing messages in national tongues. The Universal Telegraph Union soon after accepted this recommendation and now, in at least fifteen different countries, it is just as easy to send a telegram in Esperanto as in any other tongue. The language is used and endorsed by at least a score of Chambers of Commerce, a dozen yearly trade expositions, the International Red Cross, the English, French and Italian Associations for the Advancement of Science, the World Union of Women, the Young Men's Christian Association, the International Peace Bureau, the World Union of Associations for the Blind, the International Association of Radio Amateurs and many similar organizations.

IN many a school, public and private, in England and on the continent, Esperanto is a regular part of the curriculum; in some places, as in Geneva, it is even compulsory. As an introduction to the study of foreign languages Esperanto, whose pronunciation can be learned in a half-hour, whose grammar can be acquired in one or two hours and whose word formation is logical, has been found to have great value. Paradoxical as it may seem, its introduction has not crowded out any already existing subject of the curriculum, for the small extra time given to Esperanto has been more than compensated for by the saving in time spent in learning national tongues. In such schools it is a common thing for children to broaden their knowledge of the world, and their sympathies, by correspondence with students in other countries. Collections from abroad of illustrated postcards, stamps, coins, photographs, magazines and specimens of school work supplement the lessons in language, geography, art and science.

To be sure, a "linguistic paradise" cannot cure all the ills of humanity. Yet, who will deny that world problems will sooner and easier find their solutions in that day when language barriers no longer prevent complete understanding between the peoples of the earth? Not a dream of some far-off millennium but a present day actuality, Esperanto offers its assistance to a world struggling toward a better civilization.

Racial Lines in Shanghai

JOHN B. POWELL

THE big problem in Shanghai today is that of Chinese membership in the foreign clubs. It is causing more argument and recrimination among the foreigners than all of the other problems. Nothing has been printed in the newspapers about it because everyone feels that the less said about the question the better. There have been letters, pro and con, in the correspondence columns, but the editors have steered clear of the subject in editorial comment and there has been no word in the local English press about petitions which have been quietly passed around calling upon the committees of the foreign clubs to take action on the matter, or of the discussions which have taken place within the committees.

It should be explained that Shanghai is a "club" city. Every nationality, practically, has its club and some have two. The leading businessmen's club is the Shanghai Club with its famous longest bar in the world. This was organized by Englishmen years ago and probably has a membership of 1,500, all foreigners. For a long time Americans, with the exception of a half-dozen favored individuals, were barred about as strictly as the Chinese are now, but since the war Americans have been taken in freely. It was largely due to this exclusion that the citizens of the U. S. A., about ten years ago, started their American Club, which now has approximately a thousand members, occupies its million dollar building, and excludes the Chinese. Both Americans and British have their "country" or recreational clubs, which bar the Chinese from membership. The French have recently opened a palatial club, but here again no Chinese are ever proposed for membership. The Japanese likewise have a businessmen's club, which excludes Chinese from membership but which permits Japanese members to entertain Chinese friends as "visitors." The Germans, prior to the war, had one of the most lavish clubs here, but despite their advertised ability to "get on" with the Chinese, the natives of the Oriental Republic were not admitted. There is on record a letter refusing the American University Club the privilege of holding an annual banquet at the German Club because the American University Club had Chinese members.

Sometime during 1917, when the Allies found it advisable to bring China into the World War, it was intimated that if the Chinese were good enough to be brothers in the war, they might also be invited to join the American and British clubs. To meet this situation a new institution was created, the Union Club of China. It is popularly known as the "A. B. C." Club,

limited to Americans, British and Chinese. The Union Club, still in existence and performing a certain service, has never served the purpose. It is used chiefly as a place for committee meetings, where the groups happen to be composed of Chinese and foreigners. The Chinese have never evinced any enthusiasm over the Union Club and some of the younger elements in the Chinese population dub it a "sop."

About two years ago the Chinese Bankers Association, composed chiefly of Western educated Chinese, got even to a certain extent by founding a club known as the Bankers' Club, to which only Chinese have been admitted to membership. Therefore, the foreigners are correct when they say "the Chinese have never admitted us to membership in their clubs." They are correct with this fundamental difference, that very few foreigners have ever had any desire to become members of the Chinese clubs or, with the exception of the new Bankers' Club, to be entertained therein.

THIS problem is up in earnest now and there is no side-stepping it. "But where can we draw the line?" is a question one hears. It always brings the stock reply, "Yes, if we let them in, they will soon take the clubs and drive all the foreigners out." There is another argument which starts out, "I wouldn't mind letting in a few, but if we permit Chinese to come into the clubs, somebody will be abusing the privilege." Then finally there is the veiled threat, "If they bring Chinese into this club, they can count me out."

Every foreigner in Shanghai knows that the way to settle the question is to call a general meeting of the membership of the clubs and put it to a vote. But nobody wants to face the publicity which would accompany such meetings. It is true that there are no secrets in China. The Chinese know everything that goes on and respond accordingly. If any of the clubs should hold a general meeting and the proposition of Chinese membership should be turned down, it wouldn't take long for the Chinese to find out and the Chinese have a way of making their resentment felt, as the British and Japanese realize all too well.

There is no telling when, but it is certain that the Chinese will win out and gain admission to the foreign clubs. Some foreigners lay their troubles to Woodrow Wilson and his "self-determination" speeches. Others lay it to Harding's invitation to China to attend the Washington Conference as an "equal." The Chinese have got this "racial equality" bug in their veins and since they have discovered that Europe doesn't

want to fight any more, there is no living with them. At least that's the way the old timers look at it. And then there are the "damn missionaries" who want to surrender their extraterritorial rights and the Y. M. C. A. with its universal brotherhood rot, and so on, all gumming up the game by uplifting the Chinese! There is no questioning the fact that the Chinese have the foreigners "on the hip" and do not need any Soviet propagandist to tell them that the West is in no position to fight and probably will not be for a great many years, at least from the standpoint of fighting China. A bumptious Chinese school boy told me the other day that "England can't land any troops in China because that would bring the Bolsheviks in and would set India afire. America can't do anything because her Congress wouldn't vote any money for a China war. Japan can't do anything because a Chinese boycott would bankrupt her and if England and America got together and tried to start anything, Japan would immediately throw herself on China's side. Therefore who else is there to attack China?"

RECENTLY when the Municipal Council of the Settlement gave a dinner for the heads of various Chinese organizations and announced its intention of "granting" the Chinese limited representation on the governing body of the Settlement, Mr. Yu Ya-ching, chairman of the Chamber of Commerce, made a speech, but he didn't mention Chinese gratitude for the action of the foreigners. He talked about "racial equality," and emphasized the necessity for tariff autonomy and relinquishment of extraterritorial rights. On the day the foreigners held their annual rate-payers' meeting to vote the resolution "granting" the Chinese three members on the Municipal Council (now composed of nine foreigners), Mr. Yu Ya-ching published an advertisement over the signature of the Chamber of Commerce declaring that the Chinese would be satisfied with nothing short of representation in proportion to the amount of taxes paid toward the support of the municipal government. Since the Chinese pay about eighty per cent of the taxes, it doesn't require much imagination to realize what that would mean.

Yes, it's a hard job, this matter of adjusting the relations of East and West and particularly trying since Shanghai has learned that the folks back home will not back her up.

The foreigners have themselves to blame. They are always about five years behind the times. In 1920 the Chinese would have been happy to have one member on the Municipal Council, but the foreign rate-payers (tax-payers) turned down the resolution unanimously. Now the Chinese want equal representation and probably will not be satisfied for very long with less. Immediately following the Washington Conference in 1922 the Chinese might have been satisfied with a two

and a half per cent increase in their tariff duties. Now they want and are about to receive a complete autonomy. In 1922 the foreigners might have been able to get by with a slight modification of extraterritoriality. Now the Chinese want complete abolition. The foreigners, taking them in the mass, have never known how to take a hint. They have taught the Chinese that the only way to get action is to break windows and the Chinese now know how to break windows—windows in the foreign clubs, possibly—if that's the only way to get in!

My Heavenly Lady at Her Seven-String Harp

Before the tablet whereon is written CHINA

中華

The By-Gone 過去

WHEN I was very young, I often dreamed:
Far away amid the Yellow Sea,
On the Peng-lei Island, in the White Jade Palace,
There a young princess dwelt.
Her face was as the bashful flower lovely;
Her form as the gentle crane delicate.
In her Bower of Broidery, behind a crystal screen,
She was playing upon her seven-string harp
The tune of the Peaceful, of the Pure.

The Now-Is 現在

Many years passed:
Again I dreamed of her, the young Princess.
Still she was in her chamber, playing on her harp;
But this time she played of the Grievous, the Disturbing!
Her beautiful face was pathetic—and her tears—
As a fallen pear-blossom lovely with raindrops.
I stood motionless, pained.

The Will-Be 未來

Last night once more
I dreamed of her, my Longed-for-One!
She was as ever fair and young—
Her cherry cloak, her cloud-shaped hair—
She was playing the tune of the Courageous, the Hopeful!
"O Heavenly Being!" I knelt and prayed,
"Your countenance is for ever my inspiration;
Your tune my new life!"
She heard, she looked at me, smiling.
Vigorously I awoke;
All about, birds were singing.

KWEI CHEN.

The War Resisters' Movement

HANS LIEBE*

THE War Resisters' Movement to-day has united over 44 societies from 20 different countries into a working International. If this movement has solved satisfactorily all problems of organization and got over all disagreements about political programs and schools of thought it is thanks to its remarkable motive force, the conscience, which can forbid participation in human murder alike to pious church-goers and to atheists, to politicians and to the politically indifferent. The War Resisters claim from every member loyalty to conscience in one single, definite case, i.e., when they are compelled to military service in any form. It is due to this absolutist character that the plain international formula of personal obligation has been carried through so promptly: "War is a crime against humanity. We, therefore, are determined not to support any kind of war and to strive for the removal of all causes of war."

Many skeptics will point out, not without justification, that since the grave obligation can draw upon itself imprisonment, public outlawry, unemployment, yes, the ruin of the family, the movement, at the very outset, must be limited to a small circle. But it is exactly this circumstance of the movement which gives it a quite different intensity from that which the great mass movements are capable of calling up. In contrast to the numerous appeals to the conscience of the world, the War Resisters work from man to man. They have found by experience that the spark of conscience, tormenting, challenging, freeing, can leap from one man to another. They, therefore, seize upon all—socialists, democrats, religious people, sectarians, Jews, Hindus, Christians, politicians, anarchists through their consciences.

WAR RESISTERS AND THE DEMOCRATIC PEACE MOVEMENT

THE War Resisters are the only group in the struggle for disarmament which binds *individual members* to its decision, "if necessary to be the first to disarm completely." The Peace Societies can with difficulty change over to a pledge of that kind for the individual members. They are much too closely tied by their past and by the social class which they represent. A compulsory pledge, in consequence of a majority resolution, would compromise exactly the most important members, so that these would rather withdraw, which would be unacceptable from the point of view of finance and organization. It is true that resolutions

for the abolition of military service and, indeed, for war resistance have been accepted, but there is a difference, never sufficiently stressed, between a group of personally pledged people and an official body which recognizes a principle.

In no principle does that show more drastically than in the demand for universal disarmament. The history of the past few years shows, with a ghastly lucidity, that the best efforts are all for the waste-paper basket so long as individuals do not disarm. It must not be denied that the machinery of the League of Nations, under certain conditions, will one day be able to work for effective disarmament; but should that become possible, it will be the result of an influence working upward from the masses below. The more the League of Nations is proved to be the instrument of the interests of the European Great Powers, the more necessary will the laborious detail work of the War Resisters on the individual conscience become. No pacifist group is capable, with equal success, of making the badly ridiculed world conscience a reality.

No one can dispute that their method of disarming has good results to show—even though small. In 1925, in Sweden, 245 refused military service; in Holland, since 1914, there have been 1,000 resisters, most of whom were in prison ten months. In Russia, a short time ago, seven cases of refusal of military service were known. In Czecho-Slovakia, in Finland, Holland, France and other lands questions were put in Parliament successfully about isolated imprisoned war resisters. In Roumania, forty young men lately resisted military service. At the time of the London Conference of War Resisters (1925) there were Resisters in the prisons of Czecho-Slovakia, Jugo-Slavia, Bulgaria, Denmark, Esthonia, Finland, Switzerland, Holland, Roumania, Russia and Sweden. In Holland, and even occasionally in the Scandinavian States, it happened that the organized War Resisters refused the alternative service granted by the government and preferred imprisonment. If this is so in conscript countries, how will it be in the non-conscript countries when the next war comes?

WAR RESISTERS AND THE WORKERS MOVEMENT

DESPITE its traditional anti-militaristic stand, the workers movement has always adopted a wavering attitude toward military questions. In face of the development in war technique to be expected in the future, it will, however, be placed inexorably before a decision. In the long run there will be no middle way

* Translated by Isabel Ashby.

between the unrestricted arming of the proletariat, such as Lenin and Trotski advocated and carried through, and personal individual resistance, with the final consequence of the general strike, as to-day, particularly, the Syndicalist-Anarchistic groups and a part of the English Labor Movement advocate.

It is significant that at the Conference of the W.R.I. exactly these groups were represented by outstanding personalities which dominated the discussions. Fenner Brockway, the first English Conscientious Objector in the autumn of 1914, could proudly emphasize the fact that of the imprisoned C.O.'s in England 5,000 to 6,000 belonged to his party, the Independent Labor Party. And the Austrian Anarchist, Pierre Ramus, one of the first C.O.'s in Austria, represented 4,000 Austrian workers whom he linked together with some intellectuals in a Society of Anarchist-Socialists. To be sure, these groups are a very small minority of the International Labor Movement, but yet it is significant that German Social Democrats, on the establishment of the Görlitz Program (1921), dropped the very contentious demand for the national militia which Austria still defends. And the English Labor Party reflects most clearly the struggle round the pacifist orientation of the workers movement. In 1925 it captured a third of their votes for the rejection of war credits. It is more than a mere formality when the National Committee of this party gave a reception to all the delegates to the London War Resisters Conference. That threads from the War Resisters Movement connect it with influential party leaders may be a significant sign.¹

WAR RESISTERS AND RELIGIOUS SECTS

IN contrast to resistance to military service in definite cases on political grounds, so, for instance, in a national war, resistance to war of any kind without a moral motive is unthinkable. Therefore, there are many religious men to be found in the camp of the war resisters. If they are met with very rarely in the great churches of the world, they are found more frequently in communities which, for the sake of a stricter and more consistently religious life, have cut themselves off from the churches in the shape of so-called sects. Although it was precisely among these that whole groups resisted military service with astonishing keenness—e.g., in 1914, Adventists in Germany, Nazarenes in Austria and Hungary, Doukobors (spiritual fighters) and Mennonites in Russia, Quakers in England and America—yet, hitherto, in only a few cases did they enter the War Resisters' organization. That is comprehensible: their strength was rooted in the heart of their religious life, before which the accidental affairs of this world lose importance. They resist only for the sake of conscience, seldom suspecting that they are helping to fight in a struggle for political and social

principles. At the best, it has until now taken the form of co-operation with the Quakers, the oldest war-resisting organization in the world, which, as a Quaker at conference emphasized, incited its members for 250 years to the resistance of military service. A society of C.O.'s, specially qualified for co-operation with religious sects, is the association of religious Anarchist-Communists in Holland, which, in consequence of its peculiarity in this small country, has, since 1914, upwards of 1,000 active C.O.'s to its credit.

One must take into consideration that during the last century the will for the resistance to military service has developed simultaneously in different parts of the earth from the most different religious teachings. All the three great international religions—Buddhism, as well as Christianity and Islam—inculcate in their most modern movements teachings which include resistance to military service as a religious duty. In India Mahatma Gandhi was champion of the religious precept of the abrogation of force; in the Christian world, Leo Tolstoi; in Islam, Abdulbaha, still little known in Europe. Without doubt, the relations with the Russian sectarians will be the first important and lasting ones, as regards the union of all religious Resisters. Tolstoi already predicted that besides the Doukobors, the Mennonites, the Chaloputen, Chlysten and Stranniken will also come to the refusal of military service. Russia, in addition, is, so to speak, the bridge to the eastern opponents of force on religious grounds. Already the War Resisters have spun the threads of union with India. Who among them does not know Gandhi? Also the Bahai Movement, which came into existence 80 years ago and is taking root in Islam, will find the connection; it has already millions of adherents in India, Persia, and further Asia, and is already beginning to penetrate America and the great nations of Europe—e.g., in Paris and Stuttgart.

Many readers will be pursued in these arguments by the serious reflection that it is unpardonable optimism to present the abolition of war as possible and to lead thousands to become martyrs for a Utopia. To that it may be replied that conscience must work without prospect of success; just as a man must sometimes tell the truth to his own detriment, so will it always happen that men must resist war. But, moreover, whoever considers the longed-for final success of the War Resisters as a Utopia must yet grant that his work lessens the pressure of the hate-laden atmosphere of the world. And then, without reckoning the advantages, the outsider will be impressed by the refreshing truth and the forcible humor which, e.g., characterizes the English C.O.'s. Whoever comprehends the movement as a whole, as it is projected in a handbook of the movement, will discover that the War Resisters know a more thoughtful heroism than the soldiers. If they do not risk their lives, then the life of humanity will never be won.

¹ Since then the whole British Labor Party pledged itself to War Resistance at the Margate Conference, 1926.

Not in the Headlines

AGNES A. SHARP

Ratifications of Liquor Treaty Exchanged

Ratifications of a treaty for the prevention of liquor smuggling between the United States and France were exchanged March 12 by Joseph C. Grew, Acting Secretary of State, and Count de Sartiges, French Chargé d'Affaires. The treaty was signed June 30, 1924.

Four Nations to Adopt Daylight Saving Time

The governments of Great Britain, France, Belgium and Netherlands have agreed to adopt daylight saving time effective during the night of May 14-15 and terminating October 1-2.

"Hands Off China"

The British Section of the War Resisters' International is very active in resisting the attempts to maintain British interests in China by force of arms. Great demonstrations are being organized by the United Labor and Socialist Movements, and by the whole pacifist organization of England. Among the many statements issued to the Press are the following extracts from one issued by the No More War Movement:

The attempts to hold China by force of arms are—

Stupid, because (1) the Chinese Empire covers 4,278,352 square miles, and has a population of one-third of the population of the world; (2) the present crisis is due to British Imperialist policy, backed by armed force; and (3) history proves that movements like the Chinese Nationalist Movement cannot be controlled by force of arms.

Wasteful, because (1) the lives of our boys are of much more value than any British vested interests; (2) our money is being spent to no purpose; (3) war, once started, may involve this country in an expenditure of untold millions.

Provocative, because (1) the presence of British armed forces, by infuriating the Chinese, is likely to lead to the very dangers it is supposed to avoid, and the slightest indiscretion on the part of irresponsible persons may set the whole of Asia aflame and lead to a greater war than has yet been known.

1839. *The First Opium War*. Great Britain forced the opium trade on China, and the Treaty that followed opened China to British trade.

1856. *The Second Opium War* opened nine new ports and extended the opium trade and allowed facilities to Christian Missionaries.

Extra-Territoriality. The foreigners living in the ports opened by the Treaties have their own police and Courts and are not responsible to the Chinese authorities.

Vested Interests. During the years 1895-1911, £84,439,476 foreign capital was invested in China, and as a result of the Boxer Rising against the intervention of other Governments, an indemnity of £67,500,000 was demanded. The Chinese had been forced to give concessions to build railways to foreign syndicates, and to pay by means of loans from foreign sources. These loans and the huge indemnities imposed after each new war have

meant that Chinese production has become more and more heavily mortgaged to foreign capitalists. Each concession and each new loan has been won either by force or the threat of force.

In Japan

A side light on the influence of Christianity in Japan was recently revealed when the Government publicly honored the 32 most prominent social welfare workers in recognition of their long service. Of these, 22 are Christians, a proportion quite in contrast to the one-third of 1 per cent of Christians as compared to the total population of the country.

The Ten Billion-Dollar Corporations of America

(Figures for 1926, where available, are given, otherwise for 1925.)

Company	Total Assets	Dividends Paid	No. Stockholders	No. Employees	Date Fnd'd
1. U. S. Steel Corp....	\$2,446,000,000	\$61,000,000	150,000	250,000	1901
2. Sou. Pacific R.R....	2,147,000,000	23,000,000	57,000	171,000	1884
3. Pennsylvania R.R. . .	1,819,000,000	30,000,000	140,000	214,000	1846
4. Amer. T. & T. Co....	1,646,000,000	81,000,000	362,000	293,000	1885
5. N. Y. Cent. R.R....	1,449,000,000	27,000,000	64,000	1162,000	1914
6. Stand. Oil of N. J....	1,369,000,000	34,000,000	80,000	91,000	1882
7. Union Pacific R.R....	1,140,000,000	26,000,000	51,000	60,000	1897
8. A. T. & S. F. R.R....	1,071,000,000	22,000,000	63,000	60,000	1895
9. Gen. Motors Corp....	915,000,000	70,000,000	51,000	83,000	1908
10. Ford Motor Company	800,000,000	?	3	192,000	1903

¹ Estimated. ² Date of present corporation, following reorganization.

218 Screen Critics Choose "Best Ten"

Of the 1926 pictures these were chosen as the 10 best: Variety, Ben-Hur, The Big Parade, The Black Pirate, Beau Geste, Stella Dallas, The Volga Boatman, What Price Glory, The Sea Beasts, La Boheme.

Germans Wear Arm-Bands

The Germans in Hankow are wearing arm-bands to advertise their nationality. The reason is worth noting. The Versailles Treaty deprived German citizens of the rights which other Europeans enjoy in China. As a result, without gunboats or garrisoned concessions, without hired police or foreign judges, German merchants have thriven. They have been immune from the boycotts which have struck other trades, and now while other merchants in Hankow must camp for safety in the yard of a big factory, the Germans go about their business secure in the possession of the arm-band which informs every Chinese who meets them that they can trade without gunboats.

Special Mail Delivery Extended Abroad

Special delivery service is now in force with the 28 following countries: Australia, Austria, Belgium, Canada, China, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Danzig, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Great Britain, Hungary, Irish Free State, Italy, Japan, Lithuania, Mexico (effective April 1), Netherlands, Newfoundland, Northern Ireland, Norway, Panama, Poland, Portugal, Sweden, Switzerland. Attention is called to the fact that special delivery mailings are subject to certain regulations in force in the country of destination.

1866—1926

W. B. Royal, active professor of Greek at Wake Forest College in North Carolina, has taught Greek in that institution continuously for 60 years.

Indiana's New Rock Dusting Law

With the enactment of a law in Indiana to provide for the rock dusting of coal mines to prevent disasters due to coal dust explosions this modern safety measure becomes operative in five of the twenty-five bituminous producing states. The adoption follows closely a coal mine explosion in this state which killed 37 miners. A similar explosion in Indiana in the previous year took 51 lives. The community cost of these two recent disasters, in property loss, charitable relief, and workmen's accident compensation, totaled more than half a million dollars.

Mussolini Orders Fascist Levy

The Fascist militia was brought to 380,000 at a "Fascist levy" under the authorization of Premier Mussolini.

It is the first of such events and marks the eighth anniversary of the foundation of the original Fascist group in Milan.

The levy, similar to the calling of an army class to the colors, consists of the investiture as Fascist militiamen of Black Shirt youths who have reached the age of eighteen.

Twenty thousand of these youths were presented with rifles in Rome and 60,000 in the rest of Italy.

Water Power Projects

How near the country is to its great super-power monopoly may be judged from the fact that power has already been interchanged between Boston and Chicago. Over 66 per cent of the power industry of the country, capitalized altogether at about eight billion dollars, now rests in the hands of thirteen groups. At the present time there is a greater development of water power projects going on than at any other time in the history of the country. These are all bound to go into the super-power project, sooner or later. The thing not yet fully decided is whether the super-power monopoly will be owned by the people and be their servant, or whether super-power financiers will be the owners and the people will be the servant.

Federal Accident Compensation Law

A third of a million harbor workers in all parts of the country where there are navigable waters will be protected against work injuries by a new federal accident compensation law enacted by Congress in the final minutes of the session just ended. For ten years efforts have been made to relieve the plight of injured longshoremen. The supreme court held that they could not come under state compensation laws if injured aboard the vessel, but were under maritime jurisdiction. Twice Congress attempted to bring the workers thus injured specifically under the state compensation laws, but the supreme court in divided opinions held this could not be done. Compensation was possible only under a federal act, and this has now been won. Longshoremen will continue to be entitled to the benefits of the workmen's compensation law of their state if the injury occurs on the shore but if the injury occurs while working aboard a vessel at the dock, they will receive compensation benefits under the new federal act.

Funds to Aid Negro Medical Internes

It has been announced by the Department of the Interior that Julius Rosenwald, philanthropist, has pledged \$250 per month

to be apportioned for the use of the medical internes in Freedmen's Hospital, Washington, D. C., an institution for the colored.

These young colored graduates in medicine, serving their internships further to fit them for the practice of their profession, are without possible sources of income to supply the simple necessities of living.

America and the League of Nations

Americans, both official and private, are appearing in League activities in markedly greater degree with each year that passes. But American interests are being built up in connection with the League not in any way supported by the presence of American official representatives in the League's central agencies. It is interesting to take a look over the calendar of the League's Spring activities, where one finds a round dozen in which the United States is taking part. On March 14 began the meeting of the sub-commission on private manufacture of arms, in which America fittingly takes part, seeing that she is the world's leading maker of arms.

The same day began the work of a committee of statistical experts to consider proposals for revision of the international list of causes of death, to which Dr. Haven Emerson, of the American Public Health Association, is a delegate.

On March 16 the sub-commission of the Preparatory Disarmament Commission met with the American Government represented.

On March 21 were resumed the meetings of the Preparatory Disarmament Commission, to which Washington has sent a big delegation headed by Minister Gibson.

On March 22 started the discussions of the committee of experts for codification of international law, to which George W. Wickham is a delegate.

On April 4 commenced meetings of the final conference of interchange public health officials, the cost of which is being borne by the Rockefeller foundation.

On the same day opened the sessions of experts on taxation and fiscal evasion with Professor Adams of Yale the American chief spokesman.

Also the same day there was a session of experts in biological science at which the United States is represented.

On April 25 America has delegates at an international conference on rabies.

On the same date begins a conference on the traffic in women and children, with American participation.

On May 4 will open the great World Economic Conference, in which Washington will take a prominent part.

In June will probably be held the naval conference called on the initiative of President Coolidge.

Our John Bassett Moore sits on The Permanent Court of International Justice. Mr. Jay (of Morgan, Harjes & Co.) is one of the trustees for the Austrian Loan. Mr. R. Tyler is the agent at Vienna for the financial reconstruction of Hungary and Mr. Charles Eddy, chairman, of the Greek Refugees Settlement Commission. Surgeon General Hugh S. Cumming sits on the Health Committee and M. R. A. Millikan on the Committee on Intellectual Cooperation. Mr. Stanley Woodward represents us in the Advisory Committee on Traffic in Opium and Grace Abbott on the Advisory Commission for the Protection and Welfare of Children and Young People.



Building Tomorrow's World

Is Religion Worth While?

TO be perfectly frank, much of it isn't worth while at all. It often is a divisive force in a community otherwise harmonious. It gets in the way of education, making a duplication of schools necessary. It clouds issues in politics (Al Smith, for instance), and complicates international questions, as in Mexico and China. It adds an additional difficulty to the labor question where, as often happens, ownership is Protestant and labor is Catholic or Jewish. And too often it provides for the individual an escape from reality that makes him a dead loss so far as the forward movements of the world are concerned.

Yet it may be doubted whether any of these things are really religion at all. They have to do with the organized expression of it, to be sure; and perhaps that is just the trouble. *Can you organize religion?* Doesn't it tend to become something else by the time it is organized? Organize a river and you have a canal, which it is true may make the power there more available, but it is no longer a river. There is something so deadly about organized religion that one wonders, sometimes, whether the beauty and power of real religion which are at times to be observed in individuals and groups are really not in spite of the organization rather than because of it. There is a tempting line of thought there which ought to be followed out further, but space forbids.

Suppose we leave the Church out of this question then, in asking what part religion can play in working out the changed relationships that we look for as part of tomorrow's world. It is not unimportant, but it isn't the issue here.

THE thing that really counts in the realm of religion is the attitude in which the individual faces life. Again I would put his theology and his so-called religious practices in second place along with the organization to which he belongs. When, however, a man sees a unified world in which things hang

together and have some meaning, when he sees persons about him rather than members of races or nations, when he senses the pull toward co-operative effort that is fundamental in life, when he finds that creative or transforming work is the truest expression of his personality, and when he realizes that the universe answers sympathetically to that approach, then he has religion. Of course more might be put into the description, but that is something of its broad outline. And it holds good whether the individual lives under the label of Christian or Jew or with none at all.

Religion is a way of life that opens up opportunity for the fullest development of the individual in a deepening relationship with the universe of which he is a part. More briefly, religion is the art of life.

Perhaps the above seems to be too dogmatic an ignoring of some of those things that have usually been classed as religion. How about conversion, prayer, faith, worship, sacraments, church activities and so on? Simply ways of expressing, and sometimes rather imperfect ways of expressing that changed attitude toward life and the universe that has been noted above; imperfect whenever, as so often happens, they come to be regarded as ends in themselves. Such a case is as if a man, after having been lost, were put upon the right road and then spent his time expressing his appreciation of his rightness instead of moving toward his goal. By contrast, real religion is the treading of that true way, in a right relationship with the whole world.

The older generation is inclined to look with amused tolerance at certain of the enthusiasms of youth. They know that when youth meets some of the hard situations of life it is going to cave in, "even as you and I." And in general it is going to, but the significant point is that the few who come through usually do it by virtue of this new vision of the meaning of life that is denominated religion.

A VERY notable change in the delicate matter of race relationships is to be observed in the last few years among certain Southern students. There have been interchanges of fraternal delegates between white and Negro conferences; there have been interracial conferences in the South at which the usual barriers have been quite swept away; white young men and women have, in order to express their respect for their fellows of a different color, dared the bitter attacks or sneers of family, friends and the community at large. And usually these harbingers of a truer social life can be traced directly to the challenge of the meaning of brotherhood which those individuals faced in some study group, Bible class, or religious conference.

Where the older generation has at all attempted to meet the same problem it appears that the activity has grown out of the religious impulse. The Interracial Commissions that have been established in many localities throughout the Southern states, bringing together whites and Negroes in a joint effort to find a solution for community problems, were initiated by and are maintained by people with the religious view of life. It is not surprising, for that attitude involves a high respect for individuality where institutions and organizations tend to become careless of personal values. Political parties won't touch the question, the Government frankly carries racial discrimination into its contacts in the Caribbean and into the military establishment at home, organized labor has been cold to the Negro, the Churches have acquiesced in the status quo: and it has remained for individuals out of all those groups who have sensed the new values for life that are to be found in more honest social relationships to take the lead.

The founder of a certain co-operative colony has described the hardships and vicissitudes which the group went through in order to put into practice their social theories. It seemed that the quarrels and jealousies of those who believed that they had a perfect economic system practically wrecked the scheme. It was then, during a period of illness in which he had a chance to get a new perspective on the undertaking, that he realized that a new view of human relationships was even more necessary than perfect social machinery. In the strength of his conversion, for it was that, he was able to kindle the others with something of a sense of the priority of life over machinery, and the enterprise began its successful development.

PEOPLE have criticized Arthur Nash for his strange mixture of the Golden Rule and advertising acumen and the length of time it took him to appreciate the need of the workers in his clothing factory for organization; but there is little doubt that

it was the working out of that changed view of life which led him to take the various steps he did towards a more brotherly organization of the business.

In view of the fact that the insecurity of the worker and his fear of losing his job are regarded as a chief obstacle in the way of movements for social reorganization, it is rather significant that a considerable number of those who both risk and incur forced resignations because of their active devotion to a social ideal are ministers and Y. secretaries. In a word, it is those who have a religious push behind them who actually go down the line. In this group, too, belong equally the many who may disclaim any religion in the orthodox sense of the term but who yet are possessed by a social ideal which is really of the nature of religion. It is almost the one thing which lifts people over the barrier of the fear of consequences.

While the statesmen of the world, at the close of the war, were continuing the destruction through the economic blockade of the defeated countries and forging a treaty which was to keep alive the antagonisms, it was the Quakers who obeyed the religious impulse and went into Germany, Austria, Poland and Russia with a practical program of friendly relief which laid the only possible foundation for renewed international life. Similarly the Student Friendship Fund, started by the Christian Associations, opened the way for renewed contacts among the youth of Europe.

WHEN it comes to the war question, the same thing holds true. We have been told that the men who fought in the last war were through, you could never get them for another. But Major Pivrotto, the local Chief of Army Recruiting, reported that World War veterans formed 60 per cent of the total of 371 volunteers who enlisted in New York City for service in the United States Army during March of this year. On the other hand, it was not without reason that General Summerall is reported to have told the Federal Council of Churches last October that "this fetish of peace under the cloak of religion is a wolf in sheep's clothing." He may not be an authority on either peace or religion, but he evidently sensed the fact that religion is more and more getting in the way of the war machine. The man who takes his stand against the war method on that basis is more apt to stick than the one who is merely fed up. Those who devote themselves to the art of life have no place left for the art of death.

Other things may come into the picture, but when it comes to building tomorrow's world religion is no mean asset.

PAUL JONES

THE CARIBBEAN

A Waterway to What?

LELAND H. JENKS

THE month of August, 1914, deserves to be remembered for two events. The opening of the Panama Canal took place two weeks after the outbreak of the World War. It brought to a culminating reality the dreams of four centuries of adventurers and public men. It was the climax to a century of almost unending scheming on the part of American diplomatists. More than once, the fate of the isthmus had threatened war between the United States and Great Britain. Vanderbilt had won in Panama a fortune, filibusterers fame, and O. Henry a plot. The reputations of the sturdy old engineer de Lesseps and of a shifty French ministry had been lost, with the lives of thousands of cosmopolitan laborers, among the tropic jungles. There had been the war of canal routes and of canal companies; treaties solemnly signed and deliberately misconstrued; a revolution; a succession of politicians and contractors; the conquest of yellow fever; and now the work was accomplished—by the U. S. Engineers—a major operation upon the map of the world.

The United States has done few things as a nation likely to be of more permanent significance. It has done few things which strike so profoundly at the dogma that we are as a national state unique, apart, irreconcilably different from the other units that make up the political world. For whatever the commercial blessings supposed to follow from cutting a highway from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean, their anticipation had little to do with the building of the Panama Canal from 1904 to 1914. It was naval strategy, a policy of national defense, comprehensible to the most ordinary intelligence, that built the Canal. Of course, the blessings to humanity—especially to merchants eager to trade with the west coast of South America and the South Seas—appealed to the imagination. They had made it possible for many people (before de Lesseps' failure) to think of the Canal as a feasible private commercial undertaking. But neither these blessings nor private enterprise built the Canal. It was the Oregon, racing against time from the Pacific to join Sampson's fleet before Santiago, that quickened the determination of statesmen and patriots to shorten the distance from New York to San Francisco by sea.

THE manner of our taking the Canal Zone in Panama was strikingly similar to the behavior of other imperialistic nations. The United States, it appears, did not directly instigate the Panamanians to revolt from Colombia in 1903. It seems to be well established that Roosevelt knew that the Panamanians were going to revolt; that he bubbled over to such friends as Albert Shaw with glee at the prospect; that the revolutionaries (with their backers in New York and Paris) proceeded with full confidence that the United States would not intervene to suppress them; that American gunboats and marines, under specific orders from Washington, did interfere with the efforts of Colombia to suppress the revolution; that the United States recognized the new republic with indecent haste; and that, on November 18, 1903, fourteen days after the revolt, we concluded a treaty with the new republic by which we became sovereign possessors of its most valuable asset. No more cynical proceeding has characterized the empire-building efforts of any modern nation, and yet today, after twenty-five years, the strategic advantages of the Nicaragua route are so evident that it seems incredible they could ever have been overlooked.

Certainly, if our naval experts have their way, we shall, before long, be seeking to better Roosevelt's solution. We bid fair to have the historical shame and little more. For battle-ships and battle-cruisers of the prevailing type, the existing locks at Panama are far from adequate. Against a well-planned air attack, the Canal locks, the power-plant and the drainage system upon which they depend are highly vulnerable. In addition to comparative freedom from these weaknesses as a strategic highway, the Nicaragua route provides a convenient lake in which to hide half a dozen battle fleets, ready to emerge on an hour's notice. There are no harbor accommodations at the Panama isthmus for a fleet of any size. Only part of a fleet can pass the Canal at once. Whatever the advantages which we have derived from the Panama Canal, strategic safety, for which we built it, can not be regarded as one of them.

Nor is any canal of any strategic importance by itself. We have gradually learned, as England before us, that to control a canal one must dominate its ap-

proaches. We have discovered that we must not only have the Canal Zone; we must also command adjacent bases of operation. Should we build a canal through Nicaragua, we would no doubt discover the same. We would require, first, a zone; we would then take guarantees of sanitation and public order to protect the zone; and presently we would find ourselves insisting, as our presence in Panama has led us, upon further precautions to enable us to safeguard the guarantees. "If you believe the military men, nothing is safe," remarked Lord Salisbury, with the expanding northwest frontier of India in mind. The United States, with her canal, has been brought to the verge of a similar policy of successive extensions of authority and influence, each designed to protect the latest one acquired.

For many years, we attempted to make our conduct in defense of the Canal pass as a mere corollary of the Monroe Doctrine. The Wilson regime was especially prompt to disavow imperialistic aims, while it brought to bear upon the entire region of the Caribbean a dazzling selection of imperialistic policies. Under Secretary Hughes there commenced a new rationalization of our behavior. And now, finally, the American people are beginning to learn what has happened. They have adopted (as usual, without knowing anything about it) a new regional policy of major importance in foreign affairs—a policy quite free from the quasi-altruistic implications of the Monroe Doctrine and the Open Door.

BRIEFLY stated, our Caribbean policy amounts to this: We propose that our interests shall be regarded as predominant in countries north of the equator, not only as against European nations—which is the basis of the Monroe Doctrine—but also as against other American countries; indeed, as against the desires of the countries themselves. Our apology for this, is simply that we are the largest power with pos-

sessions in the Caribbean area. And we have simply continued the imperialistic traditions of the nations which have preceded us in importance in that region. It matters not in this connection that we profess to use our predominance to promote the well-being of Caribbean peoples. Our policy has been adopted because it is our interests which will be served; we pursue it without regard to the desires of the people concerned, or their natural leaders. And this is imperialism.

Now, of course, the elaboration of this policy has not hinged entirely upon the simple strategic conceptions which gave us the Canal. Since the World War, the Canal has become a great commercial highway. It is of international importance. Only two-thirds of the volume of traffic which passes through it is part of the trade of the United States. Forty per cent of it is purely coastwise traffic, from Atlantic to Pacific coast. A great deal more of it consists in the rapidly expanding trade of the eastern United States and Europe with the west coast of South America. Scarcely a third of the traffic from all points of origin crosses the Pacific. The importance of the Canal with reference to the Far East is actually upon the decline. It is shipments of petroleum and lumber from California to Atlantic ports, of wheat and lumber from Canada, of nitrates and ores from South America, and of refined petroleum and manufactured goods westward which make up the overwhelming amount of the commerce passing through the Canal. At the present rate of increase, the Canal will be operating to full capacity within ten years. The pressure of the growing coastwise and South American trade alone will call for increased facilities or a new canal.

In turn, there are items in this increased trade which are of prime strategical importance. Oil, nitrates and tin are of direct military value. The use of the Canal for them accentuates its importance in the eyes of our experts who are contemplating the next war.



THROUGH THE LOCKS AT PANAMA.

Moreover, under the aegis of American predominance in the Caribbean, enterprise has flourished. Fruit and lumber and mining companies, railway contractors, oil concessionaires have ventured into revolution-ridden countries, confident that the vigilance of the United States in enforcing order and civic sanitation in the vicinity of the Canal will widen the margin between profit and risk. During the last two years, the movement of American capital to the Caribbean has assumed a development formerly peculiar to Cuba alone. Securities of municipalities and provinces in Colombia and Venezuela have been marketed to the amount of several hundred millions. Oil is the prize, preserved to our capitalists by the vigilance of Washington. Hence, the American investor and enterpriser join their efforts to support the zeal with which the United States has policed the neighborhood of the Canal.

SO it has come about that when asked to explain a dramatic move in Central America, the masterminds in our foreign policy are really put to it to say just which of several possible grounds for intervention will deal most appropriately with the situation. Our oil, our investments, our trade, our prestige,—and, first of all, our Canal,—may all be declared endangered. The marvel is that the grounds for substantial criticism of our policy have so far been so few.

There are, however, certain phases of our developing Canal policy which are likely to cause real embarrassment. To distinguish the Caribbean policy from the Monroe Doctrine—as we are earnestly striving to do—may seem to salve the jealous feelings of Latin countries south of the equator. We do not propose that our vigilance in Central America shall go farther. Nevertheless, the Caribbean policy definitely marks out an area in which genuine Pan-Americanism is impossible. It must tend to debar countries so progressive as Mexico and Cuba from international equality in the western hemisphere. The Monroe Doctrine relates to interests which we share with the Hispanic republics. The Canal sets up an interest peculiar to us, and which, with the growth of our trade and investments, becomes still more definitely our own.

For the time being, we safeguarded the Canal attaining predominance in the Caribbean. What then? Will we then be safe? Or will the more southern republics be jealous; and if they are so, what precautions shall we take to make our predominance in the Caribbean secure? Shall we strive then in fact for that "hegemony" of which Olney so tactlessly spoke?

THERE are embarrassments more distant. Most countries of Central America are members of the League of Nations. Recently we have been pressing upon Panama a treaty binding her to go to war should the United States do so, and to make her territory for

the duration of the war virtually an extension of the territory of the United States. This agreement would directly conflict with Panama's obligations as a member of the League. The suggestion was as stupid as it was unfriendly to the League of Nations. For should the United States be involved in war, Panama would be dragged in in any case by the mere pressure of circumstances, just as Cuba was in the late World War. The entire Caribbean will be drawn in on the side of the United States, League or no League, treaty agreement or no treaty agreement. Aside from the cultural aspects of membership, no Caribbean country can have any political rights or duties as a member of the League which conflict with the interests of the United States.

In all of this there are not the materials for "the next great war," for which alarmists already prepare us. But there are conditions which would make any such calamity less "altruistic" than we have liked our wars to be. Democracy, freedom of small nations, the open door,—freedom of the seas—these great shibboleths of our national policy are now to be laid on the shelf, if the possession of the Canal is to continue to have full weight.

A NICARAGUA CANAL?

President Coolidge, on March 30, discussed with Senator Walter E. Edge, of New Jersey, Chairman of the Senate Committee on Interoceanic Canals, the question as to whether an additional lock should be constructed on the Panama Canal as a means of increasing its capacity, or whether construction of a second canal, through Nicaragua, should be entered upon.

After his conference, Senator Edge stated orally that the President manifested much interest in the question and indicated that he would call upon departmental heads concerned for such facts and figures as they may now have in their possession and to make further surveys if necessary. He said, in this connection, that the question of increasing the canal facilities will undoubtedly be brought before Congress at its next session, and he wants to be prepared with the facts and figures on the situation.

Construction of a lock, he said, would cost about \$125,000,000, while to build another canal through Nicaragua along the lines tentatively outlined by the War Department would cost between \$500,000,000 and \$1,000,000,000 and would require 15 years to complete.

Figures now indicate that the capacity of the Panama Canal will be reached within the next eight or ten years. He expressed the opinion that construction of an additional canal would have great economic benefits and would undoubtedly have a pacifying effect on the political situation in Nicaragua.

U. S. Daily, March 31, 1927.

"Southward the Bird of Empire Wings His Way"

The Eagle Has Flown in Ever-Widening Circles Over the Spanish Main—What Next?"

"Again and again the United States has asserted its right to regulate Caribbean affairs. We have set up or knocked down the governments of sovereign nations. Times without number our armed forces have landed to curb disorders and protect our interests. We have warned Europe, with fighting words, to keep hands off and have made our words respected. We have extended our possessions in this region—by peaceful means when possible; by force of arms when occasion required it.

"We tried repeatedly to buy Cuba, until 1898, when we drove the Spaniards out and took Cuba by force. We have given Cuba the partial independence of a protectorate, but she is on her good behavior, and knows it. We won Porto Rico by conquest in the Spanish-American War, and still hold it. We have repeatedly settled the affairs of Colombia in order. We abetted the slicing of the Republic of Panama off Colombia in 1903, and guaranteed its integrity, because we needed the Panama Canal. Colombia saw the futility of trying to balk Destiny.

"We landed armed forces in Haiti in 1915 and inaugurated a policy of armed intervention by a treaty that became effective on February 19, 1916. Since then Haiti has been under our thumb.

"And now Nicaragua. We intervened in Nicaraguan affairs as early as 1850, when Great Britain, through the Clayton-Bulwer treaty, ceded all rights to a protectorate over disputed territory along the Mosquito Coast. We intervened to restore order in Nicaragua in 1907. We landed 2,000 marines on Nicaraguan territory in 1912. In 1914 the marines landed at Bluefields. Now the marines are in Nicaragua again.

"The irrefutable logic of historical facts proves one thing: The Eagle's right never narrows. He sweeps in an ever-widening circle."

Editorial from *Liberty*, February 26, 1927.

Manifest Destiny

"Let us have peace with Mexico or war with Mexico. If we don't want war, let us stop playing with fire. If we do, let us keep our powder dry.

"The conquest of Mexico in one form or another may be our 'manifest destiny.' There is no one now who regrets that we took Southern California and Texas from Mexico, in spite of the fact that our war with Mexico was unethical. It was a war opposed by Abraham Lincoln. Lincoln was wrong; he was wrong in the light of subsequent developments. The end justified our means. The same may be true today. It may be necessary to make Mexico a protectorate, to invite European immigration, shut out from our own shores by foolish laws, to make Mexico safe for American civilization. In time, the Mexican territory will add new stars to our flag.

"Oil and the church complicate the issue. We must examine the question solely from the point of view of the larger interests of the United States which are identical with the interests of civilization. In the great war between the colored and the white race,

which is coming sooner or later, we shall be able to maintain the rule of white civilization for several centuries if we weld the entire North American continent into one solid whole, dominated by Nordic ideals and a Nordic tongue. For the same reason, we must control Central America, even if we find it necessary to interfere with the self-determination of small nations. We only wish our State Department would blunder a little less in attaining this object. We object not to its action, but to its methods. We can not find fault with its policy, if that policy envisages the complete domination of the American continent, including Mexico and Central America, by the United States."

Editorial, *The American Monthly*, February, 1927.



Encouraging Those International Bad Boys

—From *Chicago Tribune*, Feb. 25, 1927.

"In about thirty years we have created two new republics—Cuba and Panama; converted both of them and three other Latin-American countries—the Dominican Republic, Nicaragua, and Haiti—into virtual protectorates; intervened by force at least thirty times in the internal affairs of nine supposedly sovereign and independent nations; made the period of intervention last anywhere from a few days to a dozen years; enlarged our investments from a paltry two or three hundred millions of dollars to upwards of three billions. We have annexed Porto Rico and the Virgin Islands, built a canal, secured an option to construct another and gathered in several naval stations."

Wm. R. Shepherd, *New Republic*, January 26, 1927.

"Nicaragua offers the best route for a sea level canal from the Pacific to the Atlantic, as Charles Fourier wrote long ago. A sea level canal would not have the disadvantage of locks, easily destroyed by bombs from the air. The Nicaragua canal should be built, and this country should build it. It should be done, of course, amicably, with some payment to Nicaragua in addition to the revenues that would flow to that country from such a canal.

The digging of such a canal should not be prevented by any unnecessary squeamishness. What the world NEEDS it ought to HAVE, including the best possible connections between the two great oceans."

Rochester Evening Journal, March 12, 1927.

From Monroe to Coolidge

EDWIN M. BORCHARD

THE Monroe Doctrine, as a postulate of American foreign policy, cannot be understood without reference to the historical background which gave it birth. Its expansion and its application to new conditions arouse occasional misunderstanding and apprehension, and the effort to judge every action of this government by its professed conformity with or departure from that doctrine leads to error and confusion. This has resulted in a charge of vagueness in the doctrine. It has induced some to consider it as an "obsolete shibboleth," and others to regard it as a monster capable of justifying the indefinite expansion of the United States and the subjection in some form of many of the states on this continent.

Neither exaggeration correctly reflects the facts. The doctrine is a statement of policy which finds its justification and explanation in the elemental desire for self-preservation. If, with the growth of the country, we have found it desirable to extend American influence on this continent, notably in the Caribbean and Central America, this is the inevitable result not of the Monroe Doctrine, but of the necessity of a growing empire to see that the outposts are safeguarded, of local weakness in Central America, and of the protection of economic interests, which the United States has encouraged American citizens to acquire. How far this policy is subject to just criticism, and what would be the result of a contrary policy, is a matter deserving of consideration.

The Declaration of Independence reflected both political and psychological strivings. The pioneers, who had hewed the materials of civilized life out of the wilderness, had developed a spirit of self-reliance and individualism unknown to the inhabitants of European communities. Common dangers and distance from Europe had stimulated local self-government, a certain democracy, and made the more intolerable the system of commercial colonial monopoly which restricted the colonists' trade entirely to Great Britain in British ships. The realization that the colonies had been on occasion the unwitting cause, and usually the unwilling victim, of practically every European war of the eighteenth century gave strength to the demand for emancipation. Thus the Revolution, inspired by the doctrine of natural rights, was a protest in the name of liberty against that political, commercial, and intellectual bondage which was then identified with the European systems of government. That emancipation and freedom became, and are now, the cornerstone of American foreign policy. The Monroe Doctrine is but

one of its aspects, the correlative of the doctrine of non-intervention in the political affairs of Europe.

NATIONAL self-interest is the primary source of any national policy. Physical facts and conditions, notably geographical position, exercise a controlling and largely immutable influence on American policy. John Hay once said: "The principles which have guided us have been of limpid simplicity." The principle of non-intervention required non-interference in the internal affairs of other nations—a policy which may be deemed in late years departed from in the Caribbean—and non-participation in the political arrangements between other governments, particularly European. Out of non-intervention grew the system of neutrality, which, with unfortunate results, we again departed from in the late European war. The recognition of governments as existing entities, and not as legitimate or as lawful or unlawful, was a necessary incident of non-intervention.

Our early statesmen, who were not beguiled by blandishments or propaganda from Europe, recognized that American self-interest and, indeed, the welfare of the world generally lay in retaining our independence from the quarrels of other people and preserving that impartiality which strengthens influence. Jefferson but reflected the declared views of Washington and many other leaders when he said: "Our first and fundamental maxim should be never to entangle ourselves in the broils of Europe; our second, never to suffer Europe to intermeddle with cis-Atlantic affairs." Herein lies the essence of the Monroe Doctrine.

THE special occasion which gave rise to the enunciation of the Monroe Doctrine is too well known to require extended repetition. The threat of the Holy Alliance to assist Spain to recover her American colonies induced Canning to propose joint action of the United States and Great Britain to prevent France, as the agent of the Alliance, from carrying out her partly self-imposed mission to restore the American colonies to Spain. The process and the result might have spelled misfortune to Great Britain. Many of our elder statesmen thought the joint declaration desirable; John Quincy Adams opposed, and thereby influenced the course of history. Joint action with European powers has rarely been in the interests of the United States whether in Europe, Latin America or China. The resulting message of President Monroe, which Adams largely drafted, having also in mind the Russian efforts to expand in northwest America, served

notice on the world, including England, that the American colonies of Spain which we had recognized, but England had not, were no longer to be subject to European colonization, and that we would regard "as dangerous to our peace and safety" any efforts of European powers further to extend their political system to this hemisphere.

The Doctrine made a profound impression throughout the world. In Latin America it was hailed as a guaranty of independence and of a republican form of government. In Europe it aided in the termination of the Holy Alliance, and stimulated the growing movements for political liberty and constitutional government. Canning thought the Doctrine "very extraordinary," and reserved Great Britain's full privilege to colonize any unappropriated portions of America. Yet, curiously, without Great Britain's tacit support the Doctrine could not, in our early days, have been made effective.

The Doctrine sums up and reiterates the cardinal principles of American foreign policy—non-intervention, neutrality, recognition. Mathematical conformity is too much to ask of such essentially fluid bodies as human governments; but it is still remarkable that only occasional departures mark the course of American history, and that those departures have only served to prove the wisdom of the fundamental principles of that policy.

The Monroe Doctrine has been said to be brash. Bismarck once called it an "international impertinence." Even harsher words have been used by other statesmen. But it does not rest exclusively on force or might, though this may be its ultimate sanction. Had it relied exclusively on force, it would probably not have been so long unchallenged. It responded to that essentially underlying factor of all human affairs—a balance of power and interests. It expressed the implicit belief that Europe had enough to do without disturbing the American continent with its quarrels and imperialism. There was nothing unjustifiable in proposing that a hemisphere in which the United States was felt to be dominant should be free from the groupings, associations, and collective policy of European governments. It gave a republican form of government, then growing in popular favor in Europe, an opportunity to develop. It made thus an appeal to the intellect. It created no fear of the United States either in Europe or in the Americas.

NATURALLY, the Doctrine has received interpretations—so many, indeed, that confusion has resulted. Everything the United States does on this continent is apparently deemed a reflection of its views of the Monroe Doctrine. This is much to be doubted. But it has been interpreted (by Polk and Grant) so as to prevent a Latin-American State, even with its own

consent, from coming under the domination of a European power. This was contrary to Monroe's assertion that these states had the privilege of disposing of themselves as they saw fit. Even in uninhabited territories non-American control is inhibited. We have contested the privilege of a European power to transfer any of its existing American possessions—which Monroe did not purport to molest—to another European power. Grant and his Secretary of State, Fish, contemplated the complete withdrawal of European countries from America, a prophecy which an eventual non-payment of the European debts to the United States may bring to realization. The Doctrine has given rise to ebullient expressions like those of Secretary Olney that "Today the United States is practically sovereign on this continent, and its fiat is law on this continent upon the subjects to which it confines its interposition." Power thus occasionally lays its toll on judgment; and while more recent secretaries have made assertions hardly less imperialistic, such views cannot be justified under the head of the Monroe Doctrine.

The Doctrine, confined to its original purposes of excluding European countries from further expansion in America, is not a rule of international law. While Europe may be said in practice to have acquiesced in it, no treaty embodying it has been concluded; even a "regional understanding" does not constitute treaty recognition. The United States reserves the privilege of interpreting and applying it. It is not designed to excuse or justify any aggression on our part either against Europe or Latin-America, though many people have drawn such conclusions. It rests on self-defense of our own national interests, of which it is only an expression. Any challenge to those interests would not necessarily require recourse to the Monroe Doctrine, as, e. g., the Magdalena Bay Resolution of 1912. It does not prevent European nations from protecting their citizens in an American country, even to the extent of taking forceful measures, as was done many times in the nineteenth century. Our more recent objection to such action, as a reason for our own recourse to intervention in Central America, is not properly founded on the Monroe Doctrine, but on the belief that such European intervention is inconsistent with our political interests. The Doctrine does not justify a protectorate of any Latin-American country. Such protectorates as we now exercise in the Caribbean arise out of circumstances quite independent of the Monroe Doctrine, or of any condition out of which it arose, except, possibly, the French threat to occupy Haiti in 1915. It has furnished no suggestion of a preferred position of the United States in countries south of the Panama Canal, most of which today require no protection from the Monroe Doctrine against European colonization or political control.

CONFUSION has arisen because of our control, in varying degree, of Cuba, Haiti, Santo Domingo, Nicaragua, and Panama. Given the enormous growth of the United States in the twentieth century, its acquisition of the Panama Canal, its financial expansion, it is hard to suppose that the results would have been different had there never been any Monroe Doctrine. The extension of our supervision or control is sometimes called "imperialism." That is a name only, and it is difficult usefully to quarrel with names. The extension of American influence was inevitable under the circumstances—weak local governments unable to maintain political stability, and, a matter of great importance, unable to pay their debts.

The temptations to extend American supervision in the Caribbean are offset, in part, by an underlying American tradition against colonial expansion. The Philippine experiment is still opposed by large groups of our people, an opposition reflected in the promise eventually to relinquish American sovereignty. The announced policy in the Caribbean and Central America is to abandon control as soon as possible; European domination, it may be feared, would have resulted in the reverse policy, namely, to make control permanent. The intervention was often unconstitutional, as in the

case of Haiti, because undertaken without the consent of Congress. Incidentally, we are driven occasionally to support local politicians and retain them in office by our influence or even to support revolutionary movements.

The policy, however well-intentioned in the long run, requires an understanding of Latin-American sensibilities, a broad-gauged tolerance, a respect for the opinions of others, a realization that South America looks askance upon United States domination of Central American countries, a maintenance of the open door for investments of the nationals of other countries, a forbearance in interfering more than is absolutely necessary in the local administration, and an eagerness to withdraw control whenever possible—considerations and qualifications which have not always been so strikingly evident in the management of our foreign policy as might have been wished. Yet the fact that our professions look to less and not more control is a hopeful pledge to which both Central America and citizens of the United States should hold all American administrations. Such responsibility is likely to make the control less onerous and extended, and would concentrate attention on the continued necessity for its termination.

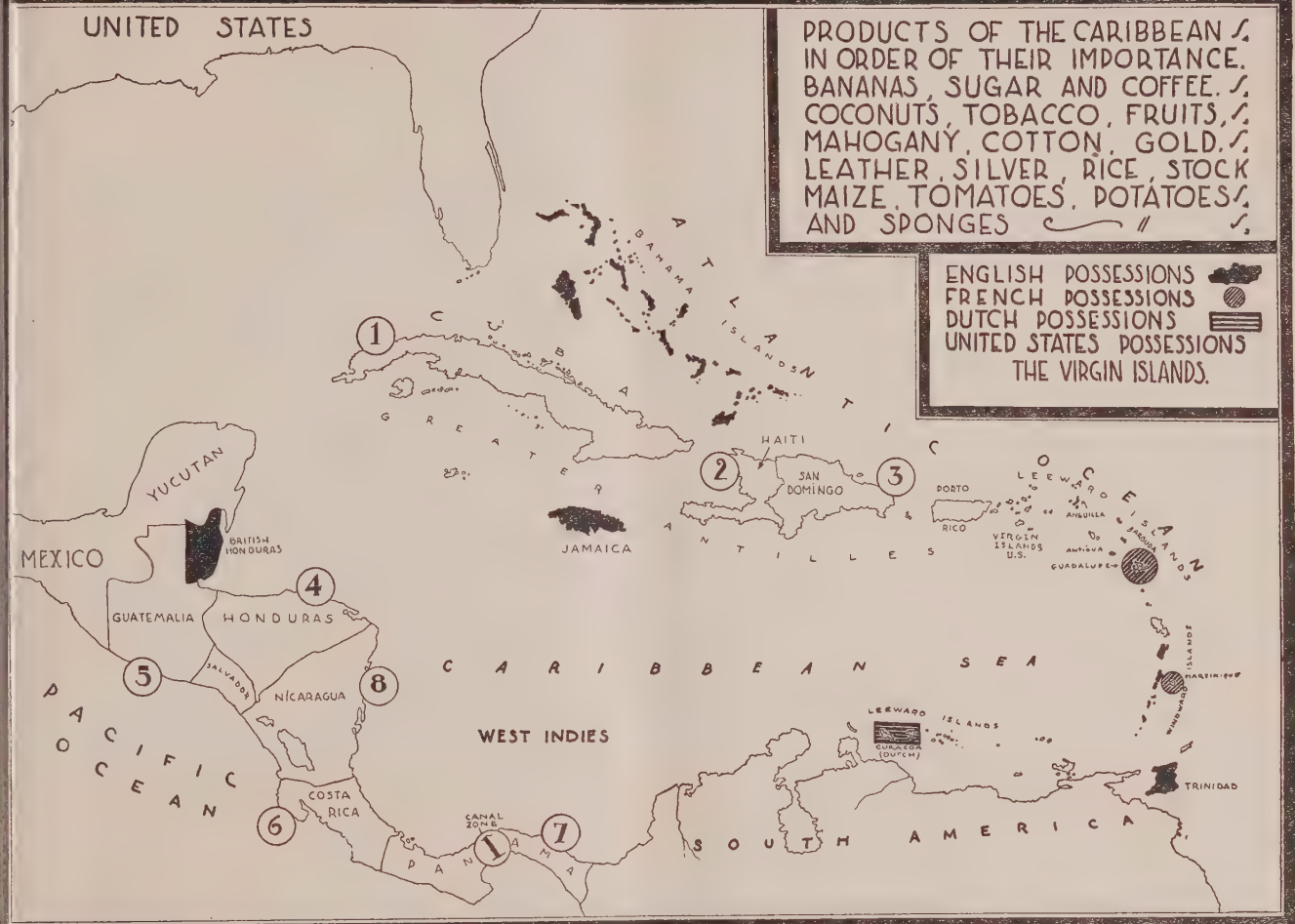


Barbara Latham.

UNITED STATES

PRODUCTS OF THE CARIBBEAN /
IN ORDER OF THEIR IMPORTANCE.
BANANAS, SUGAR AND COFFEE. /
COCONUTS, TOBACCO, FRUITS, /
MAHOGANY, COTTON, GOLD, /
LEATHER, SILVER, RICE, STOCK
MAIZE, TOMATOES, POTATOES, /
AND SPONGES //

ENGLISH POSSESSIONS
FRENCH POSSESSIONS
DUTCH POSSESSIONS
UNITED STATES POSSESSIONS
THE VIRGIN ISLANDS.



AREA AND POPULATION, 1924

Country	Square Miles	Population
British Honduras	8,598	45,360
Costa Rica	23,005	498,435
Guatemala	42,364	2,185,000
Honduras	46,262	650,000
Nicaragua	49,213	690,000
Panama	32,388	446,100
Salvador	13,176	1,650,000
Mexico	760,290	14,234,800 (1921)
Cuba	44,164	3,368,923
Haiti	10,207	2,290,000

RELATION OF THE CANAL TO THE WORLD

	Miles
Panama to San Francisco	3,277
" " Honolulu	4,665
" " Yokohama	8,065
" " Shanghai	8,985
Colon to New York	1,981
" " Liverpool	4,720
" " New Orleans	1,380

TRADE WITH CARIBBEAN COUNTRIES

Values in millions of dollars.

Country	1925 Exports	1925 Imports
Mexico	144.7	178.8
British Honduras	2.2	2.8
*Costa Rica	6.8	4.8
*Guatemala	9.4	11.3
*Honduras	9.6	8.7
*Nicaragua	7.4	6.2
*Panama	28.2	6.4
*Salvador	9.2	2.3
Jamaica	8.9	8.2
Trinidad and Tobago	4.2	6.0
*Cuba	198.7	261.7
Porto Rico	78.1	92.7
*Dominican Republic	17.8	7.3
*Haiti	13.7	2.1
Virgin Islands (U. S.)	1.9	1.0

* Member of League of Nations.

Haiti—A Case in Point

PAUL H. DOUGLAS

THE nature of our military control over the Republic of Haiti is but little understood by even intelligent Americans who have been confused by the conflicting reports concerning our administration.

The Republic of Haiti is nominally independent, with a President and his Cabinet, a Council of State which serves as the Haitian Legislature; a diplomatic service, and with membership in the League of Nations. In reality, its government is almost completely controlled by the United States; and the President, Louis Borno, who appoints not only the members of his Cabinet but also those of the Council of State, is but a puppet in the hands of the American government. Brigadier General John H. Russell of the Marines is the American High Commissioner to Haiti and its real ruler. Behind the President's palace is quartered a regiment of American marines. These marines perform a double function. They prevent President Borno from being assassinated and they enable General Russell to offer the Haitian Government (in the words which a British under-secretary once uttered concerning the purpose of the British forces in Egypt) authoritative advice. The Haitian gendarmerie is, in addition, officered by American marines and American officials are in charge of finances, public works and public health.

No act can be considered by the Council of State unless it is first submitted to the American High Commissioner. If he approves, the Council of State can pass the measure; but if he disapproves, the matter "is to be jointly adjusted," which in the realities of the situation means that it cannot be passed. The unimportance of the Council is still further indicated not only by the fact that its members are appointed by the President, but also in that they hold office only at his pleasure. It is this body which in turn elects the President. The extraordinary spectacle is then presented of the President appointing the body which elects him. It is not a difficult matter, therefore, for the President to get himself re-elected when his term expires. There is every inducement indeed for him to want to remain President. For in a country where the average annual per capita income is only approximately \$20, he is paid \$24,000 a year and is given a beautiful palace, with an annual allowance of \$12,000 for expenses, plus secretaries, automobiles, and a liberal contingent fund. It is not to be wondered at that President Borno, after making some judicious changes in the personnel of the Council of State, should have been re-elected by that body last spring for another term of four years.

HOW, then, did our control over the the Republic of Haiti originate, and what have been the steps in its development? Throughout 1914 and the first part of 1915, the United States sought to secure control over the collection of customs, although Haiti was meeting the interest on her foreign loans and was on a few years in arrears on her amortization payments. Despite the frequent revolutions in Haiti during this period, in which, incidentally, no foreigners were injured, the various governments all refused to turn over the administration of their customs to the Americans. On July 27, 1915, a revolution against the President, Guillaume Sam, which had been gathering strength in the north, broke out in the capital city of Port au Prince and drove the President to seek sanctuary in the French Legation. While he was there, one of his generals determined to shoot all of the political opponents whom the President had for some weeks been collecting in prison. He accordingly went from cell to cell and murdered no fewer than 164. This massacre so inflamed the citizens of the city that a mob broke into the French Legation, murdered Sam, and then paraded the streets with the fragments of his body.

The next day American marines and sailors were landed, under the command of Admiral Caperton, to restore order. Admiral Caperton issued a proclamation assuring the Haitians that we had no designs on their independence and that we were there only temporarily to restore order. Order was restored, but the marines did not withdraw. A meeting of Congress was called to elect a President, and after some lobbying the candidate favored by the Americans, Dartiguenave, was chosen. We immediately presented him with a treaty to ratify which gave us control not only over the collection of the customs but also over the fixation of the budget and its expenditure. A gendarmerie, officered by Americans appointed by the President of the United States, was to be set up and control over public works and sanitation was given to us. It was also provided that "should the necessity occur, the United States will lend an efficient aid for the preservation of Haitian independence and the maintenance of a government adequate for the protection of life, property and individual liberty." We have interpreted this clause as an authorization for the maintenance of a force of marines on the island, although the Haitians have never accepted this interpretation. The treaty was to run for ten years or more and could be renewed for a further term of ten years at the request of either party.

The Haitian Congress refused at first to ratify this

treaty, and Admiral Caperton, who had seized all of the custom houses, then shut off the payment of salaries to the Haitian officials. Since the Haitians had but little surplus, they soon began to be in financial difficulties. In early October, Secretary Daniels authorized Admiral Caperton to pay the ensuing salaries, but ordered that the back salaries should not be paid until the treaty was ratified. This was sufficient to win over the lower house, but the Senate was made of sterner stuff and still refused to ratify. Daniels accordingly enabled Caperton on November 10th, ordering him to call a meeting of the President and Cabinet and "to make the following statement to them on your own authority":

"I am confident if the treaty fails of ratification that my government has the intention to retain control in Haiti until the desired end is accomplished, and that it will forthwith proceed to the complete pacification of Haiti. . . . Meanwhile the present government will be supported in the effort to secure stable conditions and lasting peace in Haiti, whereas those offering opposition can only expect such treatment as their conduct merits. . . . Rumors of bribery to defeat the treaty are rife, but are not believed. Should they prove true, those who accept or give bribery will be vigorously prosecuted."

This plain threat of violence carried the day, and the Senate almost immediately ratified the treaty, with, however, twenty-three reservations which we have always refused to recognize.

THE treaty was renewed for a second term of ten years in March, 1917, by a memorandum signed by M. Borno (who was then Secretary of State) and the American Minister. The Haitians claim that this extension, which took place only ten months after the final ratification of the original treaty, is invalid, because it was not ratified by either the Haitian Congress or the American Senate. The Haitians urge that if the consent of these bodies was necessary for the original approval of the treaty, formal approval by at least one of them was equally necessary for its extension. They claim, therefore, that even under the treaty the terms of American control expired last May, while the Americans claim that the treaty does not expire until 1936. After that date, the Americans admit, however, that a new treaty will be necessary if we are legally to continue in control.

In the spring of 1916, President Dartiguenave feared that Congress would impeach him and ordered a lieutenant in the Haitian gendarmerie to dissolve Congress. New elections were held, and when the new Congress assembled in 1917 it found itself confronted with the draft of a new constitution, which had been prepared by Franklin D. Roosevelt, the then Assistant Secretary of the Navy. This made the radical change of granting foreigners the right to own land,—a privilege which had been jealously forbidden by the Haitians

ever since they had won their freedom from the French over a century before. Even the new Congress refused, therefore, to ratify this constitution. After pressure by the American occupation, President Dartiguenave ordered Major Smedley D. Butler, the chief of the gendarmerie, to dissolve the Congress. The American commander of the occupation has since testified that he was ready to dissolve Congress had the President finally refused. Since then there has been no Haitian Congress.

THE Americans were then left in a quandary. They wanted the constitution to be ratified, but there was apparently no legal body to ratify it. They then bethought themselves of a plebiscite and therefore had the constitution printed for distribution and called for a public vote upon it. This enthusiasm for a plebiscite is amusing, in view of the oft-repeated argument which our government officials have advanced that the Haitians are incapable of self-government because ninety per cent are illiterate. But while they may now be too illiterate to elect their representatives, they were not then too illiterate to pass upon the merits of a complicated constitution. When the Haitians came to vote, they found the polling places policed by American marines and the American officers of the gendarmerie. Two sets of ballots were prepared; white signifying approval and blue rejection. From the testimony which our committee took on the island, it is established that the voters were given white ballots. They were free, however, to ask the armed Americans for blue ballots, and hence it has been claimed that it was a fair election! With such pressure exerted, it is not surprising that the results were announced as 98,294 for, as compared with only 769 against. The Haitians have a facetious habit of wondering where the 769 negative ballots came from.

But this constitution provides for a Haitian Congress of two houses, which is to serve as the legislative branch of the government and which is to meet in joint session every four years to elect a President. But no such Congress has ever met. The constitution provides that this Congress "shall be elected in January of even years and the President shall designate the year." The Presidents and the American occupation have interpreted this to mean, however, that the President *may* designate the year, and they have accordingly refused thus far to call for elections. The Americans are thus in virtually complete control of the government save for the schools and the courts, and the orders of the latter are not followed by the occupation when they are distasteful.

SUCH have been the methods by which we have acquired control. Our administrative record has been a mixed one, with a distinct tendency towards im-

provement in the last few years. We have built several hundred miles of roads and have connected the main cities, although some of the roads, from 1917 to 1920, were built by forced labor with many excesses. We have put down the marauding bands of cacos and have given greater security to the peasants in bringing their produce into market. There has been but one revolution since our occupation, although at least 2,500 Haitians and probably more were killed in this. We have collected the customs honestly and, best of all, we have vastly improved the hospital service and are giving 40,000 free treatments a month—a service which is badly needed by a people ridden with tuberculosis, malaria and syphilis.

But there have, unfortunately, been less favorable features of our administration. We have insisted that the Haitians recognize the claims of the bondholders of the National Railroad of Haiti. These claims are based on a concession secured in 1910 by an American adventurer by the name of MacDonald, which even the Americans admit was obtained by fraud and corruption. The bonds were originally sold in France, but before their validation evidently passed at bargain prices into the hands of Americans, and at present the major holdings of this issue are in the hands of the National City Bank. The Haitians will ultimately pay over eight million dollars for this worthless railroad, which was built in three disconnected parts. We have also permitted certain objectionable features in the renewal of the contract between the Bank of Haiti, which is now owned completely by the National City Bank, and the Haitian government. By this contract, the Haitian government grants the bank the right of receiving the surplus, which now amounts to approximately three

million dollars, without paying Haiti any interest. Two millions of this surplus is deposited in New York with the National City Bank, which pays, as an act of grace $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent, although other banks have offered 3 per cent for the account. On the one million deposited in Haiti, however, no interest at all is paid, despite the fact that it furnishes a reserve for loans which the bank makes at nine per cent.

FINALLY, we have twice permitted President Bornier to throw his political opponent, Charles Moravia, into prison without trial, and we have several times imprisoned the editor of a Haitian newspaper, M. Jolibois, and his assistants for charging that General Russell misappropriated funds during the war. From all that I can learn, this charge is false, but it is certainly a dangerous principle to commit men to prison upon executive fiat without the right of trial by jury.

The issue is, therefore, squarely joined whether we should continue to bear the white man's burden, which incidentally, is costing us at least \$1,000,000 a year, or whether we should call for the election of a Congress and the formation of a government and then withdraw. Our withdrawal would probably be followed by a slump in administrative standards, and revolutions might well occur. The former mulatto governing class might also continue, as before, to oppress the black peasantry. These are all real dangers. But I am enough of an old-fashioned American to believe that we have no right, under the standards of international morality, to impose our rule upon an alien and unwilling people and that weak nations can ultimately develop best by working through their own political problems.



RUINS OF CHRISTOPHE'S PALACE AT MILÔT, HAITI. B.H.T.

The Color of the Caribbean

ERIC WALROND

CONSIDERING the physical limits of the region, there is hardly to be found elsewhere in the Atlantic a richer fusing of cultures than has been work in the sunny coral isles of the West Indies. For ever since the immortal Genoese's sail westward the beauty and hypnotic splendor of these islands have contrived to attract to them a most daring and romantic set of empire-builders.

To begin with, there was, forming a base for the intense compounding of cultures that was to follow the dry footprints of the Spaniard, the Carib, whose continuance in the heat and dung of the Honduras forests today is proof of the reckless bid for perpetuity made by this people; and the austere symbols of whose past, just about come to light, suggest a legacy of undisputed sovereign worth destined to remain unshadowed by either obscurity nor unintelligibility. Second, there were the slaves the Spaniards brought from Africa to work their Antillean estates, and, incidentally, to edge the Caribs into the dungeons of the sea. Coming some two hundred years before the *Mayflower* set sail, the early African captives were overawed to find themselves transmuted to a region fully as tropical as the lush green banks of their late West African lagoons. Thus they took lustily to their new coral-rimmed abode. In its glens and dewy vales they sought to inject the essence of their jealous tribal way of being—did obeisance to grotesque *obeah* gods, invested vine and leaf and herb with startling medicinal properties; spoke a *patois* which borrowed from the disciplined rhythm of the African tongues and the unguarded idiomatic speech of the Europeans.

THEN the crimson pirate wars were ushered in. Smoke from the mouths of vomiting pirate cannon blew from seashore and castletop the jeweled bands of Caribbean sunlight. Amidst the storm of strife and unrest, the fates were quick to seize the chance to shuffle the Caribbean deck of cards. Half a dozen precious isles changed hands; changed from Spanish to English, Spanish to French to English, to French to English to Dutch, to English to Danish, and so on. Two of these isles, years later,—one the brightest jewel in the West Indian crown—groaning under the yoke of the Spaniard, rebelled, and, with the benignant help of the United States, tore themselves "free."

But there also took place another, but perhaps less unified type of warfare—the sporadic outbreaks of the blacks—which reflect some of the temper and some of

the spirit imbedded in the native grain. All during and before the shedding of intolerable yokes and the swapping of continental allegiances the slaves on the plantations were growing unmanageably more and more restive. Uprisings flourished. From a parapet in Nevis a band of slaves, disdaining the fruits of British dominion, jumped headlong into the rock-strewn bay; in Jamaica the Maroons, under Cudjo, were slashing away to a victory which they have not yet ceased to cherish; in Peru and St. Croix and Surinam there were revolts and diabolic massacres; and in the Isthmus province of New Granada, Juanillo el Gacho was cutting a blood-red path through the Spanish bulwarks to a Stone Throne. In fact, on one isle, ruled by the French, the blacks rose and seized the reins of power. And for years there roamed over nearby isles bands of escaping slaves, engaging squads of bewildered pursuers or seeking asylum in caves and passes, and ultimately carving out for themselves a destiny and a way of life far from the vision or comprehension of the whites.

In time, after a few legitimate moves on the Caribbean checker-board, the islands succeeded to a romantic mercantile calm, and life in West Indian seaport and village, city and estate hill, took on a dusty, dreamy serenity.

THE warring rudiments of West Indian society reflect the exotic quality of its civilization. Going to the islands, the visitor is at once struck by the great variety of racial types dominant there. It is easy, of course, to recognize at the bottom of the social order the Negro, who forms the mass of the population. He is the islands' arch laborer and the sullen master of its affluent soil. It is true that since 1833, the first burst of freedom in the West Indies, he has met the competitive elbow of Chinese and Hindu coolies, who have drifted in with the fitful tides of emigration; but the shock has been either too short-lived or negligible, for the Asiatics in the West Indies possess an inexplicable genius for drifting into the shopkeeping class. And the absentee landlords in Nice and Monte Carlo continue to rivet their eyes on the resilient back of the Negro for brawn to man their scows and lighters, brawn to hoe and plant, cut and suckle sugar cane. This class of whites is not the only one that has fastened itself like a leech to the buxom sinews of the blacks. The colonizing settlers, a breed slightly distinct from the absentee land owners and consisting of planters, soldiers, beachcombers and adventurers, were notoriously free of scruples when it came to playing Conde-

scending Adam to some maiden's Nile-lit Eve. You may not need to be told, but these whites, from the standpoint of the Bourbon blades afloat in Virginia and Louisiana, were either a jaundiced or a susceptible lot. For while they mingled freely with the blacks they rarely denied the offspring of their democratic endeavors the legal emoluments of kinship.

As a result, the mulatto, on coming into the world, came, as it were, with the ready-made conceits of one who had been legislated by Providence out of the squatter class. He was an intermediate concoction by more than one right. In community matters he was accorded a place midway between black and white. He was taught to consider himself superior to the blacks, and if not as good, then nearly as good as the whites. In the beginning, the distinction, which was not at all a racial one, was accepted by reasons of certain property or material inheritances, but as time went on and the motives dimmed it became confused, notably in Jamaica and St. Thomas, with gradations in pigment and gave to the blacks a uniformly lower status than the mulatto. As a consequence, a black man in these two islands, unless he is a merchant or a member of the educated class, is scornfully looked down upon; whereas, a mulatto, regardless of the number of the decimals in his I.Q., can pass muster anywhere. It may be pointed out, however, that long before the growth of anti-black sentiment among the near-whites there were full-blooded Negroes who had risen out of the "hoe and bill" class and who sported manors and monocles, and Edinburgh sheep skins.

IT is singular that the mulatto-black issue is only agitated in colonies where the Anglo-Saxon spirit predominates. In countries governed by the Latin attitude to life, no hue or cry is ever raised by either white or mestizo over the shade of a man's skin. In these none too plenteous regions, the European point of view with respect to "social equality" is faithfully transcribed. Here, however, color gives way to intense national affection. In Cuba or Santo Domingo a blue-eyed Swede or a sunburnt Syrian, as foreigners ignorant of *las costumbres del pais*, enjoy at best an arbitrary emotional relation; but for a *paysano*, be he salmon-colored or ebony, there is no post or measure of patronage too richly coveted for him. Indeed, it is a desultory commonplace that from the time of the first Spanish settlers men of Negro descent have filled enduring roles in the affairs of Latin America.

Contrary to legend, the Europeans who went out to the West Indies were a long-headed set of Crown Colonists. Take, for example, the case of the English, the shadow of whose imperialistic arm hangs darkly over this region. The English did not go, like their near-sighted cousins of a century and a half later, with bom-

bast and "darky-hating" acts and epithets. They went instead with the one defined purpose of exploiting the mighty resources of the tropics. They brought capital—not enough, it is true, to stem the tide of labor that sweeps over the banana lagoons of Tela and Changuinola, but enough to keep the royal cat o' nine greased and snarling in the colonial sun—they brought industry and builded docks and railways and warehouses and sugar mills. In their stern, unostentatious wake they left order and peonage and custom houses and the incomparable British system of common school education. As a kind of *cazrip* to season the Caribbean "pepper pot," the Spaniards, whose impress was firmest, also unloaded gifts—dignity and ceremony and poverty; the worship of beauty and the Catholic clergy. And from the French there were traces of poetry and urbanity and an ill-fated penal colony.

IN the light of such a vivid past, the question of art, culture and folk-lore in the West Indies is one of engaging fascination and promise. It is of such vast and virginal proportions, however, that it is only possible here to skip lightly around it.

If we concede that history precedes sociology and sociology pure art, it can hardly be said that the cultural cycle in the West Indies has even begun, any more than we can say that art in the United States is on the eve of a Hellenic outburst. We need not look very far for the reasons. In the first place, it must be borne in mind that each island, or set of islands, is a world apart, with often a jealous history to boot, which, though it may not be quite as "relevant" as fabled Ionia's, may merit more than passing half-mention; also, that each island is inhabited by part-Negro and full-Negro peoples, imbued with a mixed African and Latin outlook on life, whose sociology has not even been dimly guessed at.

In legends, folk-lore and the primary essentials of a folk-literature, the islands abound. Rich in superstition, witchcraft and Anancy tales; having in its cities and towns a social life quite as gay and abandoned as any to be met with in Venice or Milan; equipped with a climate that is designed to give color and ease to the pursuit of the creative life,—it is a bit disconcerting to find in the output of the native, with perhaps one or two ineffectual exceptions, none but the remotest idea of the intrinsic artistic worth of all this. Indeed, the poets and creative writers of the West Indies, who, it seems, are just beginning to get excited over the literary traditions of Europe and the British Isles, succeed usually in giving little more than a pretty continentalized version of the life of their exotic tropic heath.

But in this regard the islands are no more "behind the times" than were the United States before Washington Irving wrote.

ON coming to the United States, the West Indian often finds himself out of patience with the attitude he meets here respecting the position of whites and Negroes. He is bewildered,—that is, if he is not "near" enough to pass as a Greek or Spaniard or Italian—at being shoved down certain blocks and alleys among his own people." He is angry and amazed at

the futility of seeking out certain types of employment for which he may be specially adapted. And about the cruelest injury that could be inflicted upon him is to ask him to submit to the notion that because he is black it is useless for him to aspire to be more than a trap drummer at Small's, a Red Cap in the Pennsylvania Station, or a clerk in the Bowling Green Post Office.

A Future We Would Like

JACINTO LOPEZ

THE Editor has been sensible enough not to ask for prophecy, but merely expects a picture of the future we would like for the countries of the Caribbean Sea. Through the southward progress of the policy of expansion in this Mediterranean of the New World, this sea has become the Mare Nostrum of the United States. There is no place for oracles or augurers any more in this world and the prophesying business has come to be the monopoly of the weather man. We are free, however, to visualize the future as we would like it as men of liberal thought and culture, sincere lovers of peace, justice and friendship among nations. Nobody, I venture to believe, would call this utopia, for these are the essential elements of a normal and civilized international order. Such visualization is moreover a most useful task, for it strongly emphasizes the contrast between things as they are and things as they should be, and faithfully reflects the condition and the aspirations of those peoples who have been despoiled of their birthright and sacrificed like propitiatory victims to a barbarous God.

The situation as it is today in the Caribbean is the work of the American policy of expansion initiated with the war of 1898. The pivot of this policy was the interoceanic Canal. The conception of the Canal as an integral and most vital part of the territory of the United States, on the security of which the national security of the United States rested, resulted in the policy of expansion in the Caribbean area and in the claim to the ownership and sovereignty over the Canal. Colombia was therefore dismembered and the so-called Republic of Panama was created. Haiti and Santo Domingo were thereupon occupied by armed forces of the United States and the Virgin Islands were acquired by purchase. The same military policy explains the naval stations and the Platt Amendment in Cuba. The expulsion of Spain from Cuba and Porto Rico was the preliminary step in the execution of the purpose of clearing the ground for the control of the Canal and the Caribbean region.

This policy has also been extended to the Central American countries, not only for the sake of the Canal

already constructed, but likewise for the sake of the canal not yet constructed. The peoples inhabiting the territory between the Southern frontier of the United States and the Panama Canal are making now the astounding discovery that they cannot even change their form of government without the consent of the United States. If the Mexican people or the people of any of the Central American Republics should decide, for example, to establish a Bolshevik or Communist regime within their boundaries, they would not be permitted to do so because it would be a menace to the vital interests of the United States in the Panama Canal. This strait jacket condition would not allow Mexico to have a Central American policy of freedom and integrity of the Central American nations, because it would be incompatible with the security of the Canal.

THE prospective Nicaraguan interoceanic canal, far off as the project of its construction seems to be in the shoreless sea of time, has already brought upon the Central American republics similar disastrous consequences. The canal policy of the United States in Nicaragua has written all the history of that country since 1909. Three revolutions or civil wars have afflicted that republic since that time. For fifteen years the country was practically under military occupation by the U. S. marines and but for the Senate of the United States it would be today by treaty a protectorate. The Bryan-Chamorro Treaty, that is, the Nicaraguan Canal Treaty, has, however, destroyed the independence not only of Nicaragua but of the other Central American republics as well. Today Nicaragua is once more under military control of the United States.

The system of foreign loans and financial control of the Caribbean republics is another aspect of the all encircling scheme of subjugation of those countries. The Government of the United States has allied itself with the wolves of Wall Street for concerted action south of the Rio Grande. It is absorbingly interesting to watch this alliance in operation

in Nicaragua from 1910 on. Military intervention or occupation regularly precedes the invasion of the financial ravens. In the treaty just proposed to Washington by the Diaz Government in Nicaragua there is the familiar and significant clause of an American loan of \$20,000,000 to that Government.

THE Caribbean nations, and, for that matter, all of the Latin American republics, have two common historic characteristics: The love of independence and nationality and the ideal of political union among themselves. Their history bears this out. The first war for independence in Cuba lasted ten years. Three wars of independence fill the history of the Dominican Republic in the last century. The Haitians fought with unconquerable heroism to win their freedom. Independence is the dream of Porto Rico. The war that is going on today in Nicaragua is actually a war for independence and nationality. The people know that in warring against the Diaz's soldiery equipped with arms from the United States Government and supplied with money from the United States bankers, they are fighting against the policy of a foreign country that aims at their enslavement.

Excepting Haiti, the insular peoples of the Caribbean—Porto Rico, Cuba, Santo Domingo—are of the same origin, the same language, the same religion, the same culture. Their common aspiration is the establishment of a Confederation and if left free they will realize it. Meanwhile they recognize the family ties that bind them and in spirit they are united. They know that they constitute a common racial and cultural group and the consciousness of solidarity pervades their souls. Haiti will, of course, be a member of this Confederation of the Antilles.

THE aspiration of the Central American countries is to unite themselves in a federation, organizing a federal republic. The obstacle in the way is the Bryan-Chamorro Treaty and the Canal policy of the United States. An article in the Constitution of the Republic of Nicaragua reads: "Sovereignty is one and inalienable, imprescriptible, resides essentially in the people, from whom all the constitutional and lawful officials derive their powers. Therefore, treaties shall not be entered into that may impair the independence and integrity of the nation, *except such as tend to the union with one or more of the Central American Republics.*"

IT seems apparent that the government of the United States is at the parting of ways in the matter of the imperialistic policy in the Caribbean. The lesson of the course of empire is well known, from Rome to Germany. Empires rise and fall to

pieces because they are founded on force and crime. The latest example of this is being offered just now to the eyes of an astonished world in China. The violent and aggressive antforeignism of the victorious Cantonese revolution is the result of the imperialistic policy of the foreign powers in China for many years past. They are making desperate efforts to before this fact by attributing the terrific explosion of xenophobia in China to Moscow intrigues and the spread of Bolshevik propaganda, but in vain. The cry that dominates the whole storm is, *Down with imperialism*. These events have a special reference to the history of Nicaragua during the last seventeen years. Soon the United States Government will have to decide whether or not the policy of imperialism in the whole insular and continental region of the Caribbean is to continue. On this decision hangs the future of these countries and of the United States itself.

Meanwhile we can seek refuge in faith and hope. It is not impossible that the problems of the Caribbean shall ever have a peaceful solution. We put our faith in civilization. Civilization is already disarming the world morally and materially. The recrudescence of the Canal policy of the United States as exemplified in Nicaragua since last December and in the recent treaty with Panama is in flagrant contradiction with the new orientation of the world and an anachronism. If humanity is to survive the world must be consecrated to peace and the scourge of fear under which the nations have lived must cease. A world of peace and solidarity presupposes the extinction of all armaments and the death of militarism.

IN a future like this we can perceive a Cuban Republic without naval stations and without Platt Amendments; an independent Porto Rican Republic; Santo Domingo and Haiti restored as sovereign and independent nations; the Central American Republics freed from the incubus of the Bryan-Chamorro Treaty; the Panama Canal unfortified and an instrument of peace and civilization; the policy of force and terror replaced by the policy expressed in that masterful declaration of a Secretary of State of the United States: "We wish for no victories but those of peace; for no territory except our own; for no sovereignty except the sovereignty over ourselves. We deem the independence and the equal rights of the smallest and weakest member of the family of nations entitled to as much respect as those of the greatest empire and deem observance of that respect the chief guarantee of the weak against the oppression of the strong. We neither claim nor desire any rights, or privileges, or powers that we do not concede to every American Republic."

"They've Done It in Nicaragua"

AGNES A. SHARP

"SPREAD EAGLE," a play which opened in New York on April 4, has four good reasons for its success. First it is an anti-war drama. Second it is an anti-propaganda play. Third it deals with the relations between the United States and Mexico. Fourth it is a good melodrama. Its authors, George Brooks and Walter B. Lister, have written a magnificently contemptuous play to show how this country might be manipulated by Big Business into intervention in Mexico.

The play is said to have been written about a year or so before our relations with Nicaragua and Mexico were so delicate. It is supposedly based on an incident, told to one of the authors, of a Mexican revolutionary leader who called upon a wealthy man in downtown New York and proposed, for a half-million dollars' worth of arms and ammunition, to "make intervention possible." If the play had been produced a year ago public opinion might have influenced our State Department before this. Luckily for all of us the authors and producers have had the courage to give it now. It is most timely and it touches us all in a sore spot with a virulent sting.

The incidents are thoroughly concrete and the lines of the play are fearless. The rapid scenes present the mapping in the public mind of the expectancy for war. It traces the waves of feeling toward intervention—first in propaganda for property rights, then of oil rights, next the clamor of the church. It is pointed out that because of these succeeding doses of the idea of intervention not much more will be needed to bring about a clamor for war. The assumption is stated that the U. S. feels its natural boundaries to

be the two oceans, the Great Lakes and the Panama Canal.

To stem this assumption of intervention the principals in acts two and three, when they are in Mexico, are made to throw out such lines as:

"I've always believed in the rights of smaller nations . . . but this has opened my eyes. There's only one cure for a situation like this. . . . This country won't be fit to live in until we have intervention . . ." and

"You've actually charged Mr. Henderson with hiring . . ."

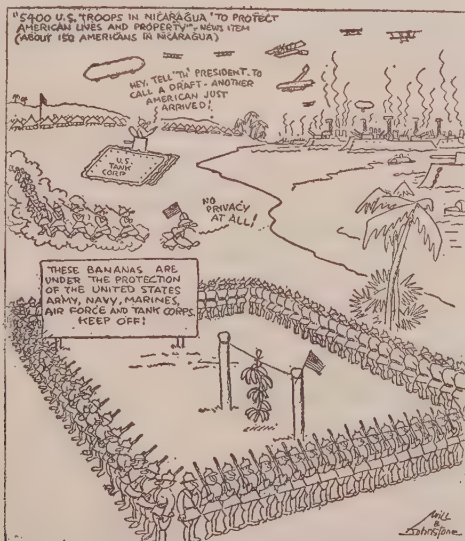
"He would. He'd hire someone to raise a ruction down here. Make things so bad the United States would have to take a hand. They've actually done it in Nicaragua."

And later, just as the financed revolution is well under way, the United States' ex-president's son, who was hired and sent down to be the unknowing victim, says:

"They warned me. They told me things had happened down here. I remember that sarcastic secretary saying, 'There won't be any danger for you. Because the bandits know that if they dared kill you, the United States would have an army on its way in five minutes.'"

And his fellow victim says—"Can't you see the headlines? 'Ex-President's Son Murdered.' 'Nation Demands War.' Killing you will be just like blowing up the Maine."

The hysteria of wartime is whipped up. The incidents have so many parallels that they get under the skin and cannot be ignored. The indictment is tremendous. It is an indictment of all of us who let these situations be reproduced year after year in different parts of the world.



What Price Bananas!—From N. Y. World, Feb. 24, 1927.



Keep the Light on It.—From N. Y. World, Feb. 24, 1927.

Books Looking Southward

American Foreign Policy

A HISTORY of American Foreign Policy,¹ by John H. Latane, is announced as "a complete, authoritative treatment of America's foreign relations for the one hundred and fifty years of our history." For once the publisher's statement may be taken at its face value. In seven hundred pages Professor Latane has given us much more than a useful textbook. He has, as nearly as one man may be expected to do so, presented the salient lines of development of America's foreign policy from the beginning in a manner at once cogent, interesting and suggestive. Valuable as it will be to college students, it will be more useful to the increasing thousands of men and women who are trying to follow the foreign affairs of their government intelligently.

The outlines of Prof. Latane's narrative are beautifully clear. In his years of research, he has evidently gone through most of the secondary material and large portions of the original documents. But this wealth of data has not been permitted to overwhelm him. Instead, the major tendencies during a century and a half are without distortion brought into perspective so clear that both the beginner and the expert will profit from his generalizations. For example, "It is a fact not generally recognized by Americans that in the three great political and commercial areas with which we have close relations we have three separate and distinct policies: the policy of isolation, which is still supposed to dominate our relations with Europe; the Monroe Doctrine, which has kept Latin America free from European exploitation and maintained the open door, but which has latterly taken on an imperialistic aspect; and the policy of cooperation in eastern Asia and the Pacific, which was first developed by Seward during the period of the Civil War, then suffered to lapse, was revived again by John Hay, and finally made the basis of the Washington treaties of 1922."

Prof. Latane's conclusions will not always satisfy those who emphasize the economic interpretation of history. Nor will his judgments as to the United States' Caribbean policies seem sweeping enough to some liberals and to the radicals. But no reader will charge the author with any conscious perversion of what he believes to be the essential facts in any situation.

In short, the reviewer has read this book with keen enjoyment and expects to use it constantly in his daily efforts to follow our government's relations with the rest of the world.

JAMES G. McDONALD.

Yucatan

UNDER the attractive title *Silver Cities of Yucatan*, Gregory Mason has written of the three months' archaeological exploring expedition backed by the Peabody Museum of Harvard of the virgin territory of Yucatan. Evidence on the last phases of Mayan civilization was sought and is here recorded. The value of the book is in its tracing of the cultural background of this section of Central America. (Published by G. P. Putnam's Sons. Through The World Tomorrow Book Shop, \$3.50.) A. A. S.

¹ Published by Doubleday, Page & Co. Through the World Tomorrow Book Shop, \$4.00.

The Mexican Crisis

THERE is no problem before the United States as important as our relations with Mexico. This has been said often, but its significance was emphasized for me during a recent trip to that country. Mexico is engaged in a great social experiment, but this experiment is being made at the door of the richest nation in the world, and the greatest owner of property. Will this great, rich, property-centered nation be willing for Mexico to carry out her experiment? This looks doubtful at the present time.

Tremendous pressure is being exerted on the Mexican Government to have her laws and all the ideas of the revolution affecting American property changed. Unless the Christian liberal forces in the United States are able to change this it is probable that the Mexican government will have to accede, thus bringing about a revolution in Mexico against that government or forcing it to defy the United States and thus probably bring intervention from this country.

Miss Amy Blanche Greene, in her pamphlet, *The Present Crisis in Our Relations With Mexico*,² has well summed up the present situation in Mexico and our relations with that country. She has quoted from the latest and best books and thus makes accessible to the reader the most important recent material on the so-called "Mexican Question."

The first section treats of the new dominance of the United States in the Caribbean and the importance of Mexico in all our relations with Latin America. The second section reviews the history of the Mexican people and tells how they have been exploited by foreigners, beginning with the Spaniards. Brief explanations of the new laws concerning petroleum, foreign-owned land, and religion are given both from the viewpoint of the United States and Mexico. The booklet ends with a suggested program for friendship.

SAMUEL GUY INMAN.

The Pearl of the Antilles

BOOKS on the countries of Latin America are none too abundant in English. As the importance of the region about the Canal becomes clearer to the United States this deficiency is being made up. Charles E. Chapman has just added another volume, *A History of the Cuban Republic. A Study in Hispano-American Relations*. The 685 pages of this book constitute a real addition to the bibliography of Cuba. It is a pity, though, that Chapman is so solicitous about upholding the United States. Why not be more realistic about the origins of the Spanish-American War? Why suggest that the *Maine* was destroyed by an "overwrought Spanish sympathizer," when the American board of inquiry reported the cause to be a mine? Why must all Cuban opponents of the Platt Amendment be "politicians"? The book is packed with information, but in many places it must be taken *cum grano salis*. (Published by The Macmillan Co. Through The World Tomorrow Bookshop, \$5.) H. C. E.

² Published by George H. Doran Co., 64 pages, 15c; order from Miss Amy Blanche Greene, 347 Madison Avenue, New York City.

A Brazilian Tenement

*A Brazilian Tenement*² we have a magnificent example of the realistic literature of South America. Aluizio Azevedo, who told the humble and ignorant folk of his native Brazil, gives us a portrait of their life in a *cortico* or one-story tenement, such as may be found in the Mexican *vecindad* or Chilean *conventillo*.

All the humble and despised types are here represented: the address, the policeman, the fish peddler, the blaster from the near-quarry, living in amiable and good terms with the professional beggar, the cocotte, the thief, the good-for-nothing, and the idiot. These are days of toil spent under tropical suns, but on Sundays in Coney Island or Atlantic City could rival in sheer happiness and with this strange community of black and white, immigrant and native born. Their moral standards are lax, but nowhere could we find more loyalty, more neighbourly charity, more compassionate hearts and stern philosophy. When the young flower of the tenement marries, the old women wish her virtue and an easy time with her first child. If a tenant is evicted the other ninety-nine families come to his rescue as one, and if the police attempt an interruption of a fist-fight the tenement becomes a veritable barricade against the intruders, for the honor of the tenement is above personal rivalries.

The landlord, a despicable Portuguese who has arisen from the status of a starving immigrant to that of a capitalist and aspirant to the hand of a nobleman's daughter, profits by the ignorance and duplicity of his tenants, robs his old concubine—a Negress—of her money and rights and leaves in the mind of the reader the unpleasant sensation that his type is not altogether extinguished or unfamiliar in our present day.

CONCHA ROMERO JAMES.

Near the Equator

TO most Americans the Central American republics are listed among those "also present." Wallace Thompson in *Rainbow Countries of Central America* brings them closer. As a travel book it is readable and full of information. The American intervention and interference in these lands, however, are looked upon as very beneficial. No doubt, it is mere perversity that makes these peoples resent what is so much for their good. Has Wallace Thompson never heard about "imperialism"? (Published by E. P. Dutton. Through The World Tomorrow Bookshop, \$5.)

H. C. E.

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OF GENERAL INTEREST
BUT OF SPECIAL WORTH

The Revolt of Asia

NOT since Tawney's last book have I picked up a volume which so recalled and then justified the word of Shakespeare that man is a "being made for large discourse, to look before and after." *The Revolt of Asia*,¹ by Upton Close, describes and interprets that mighty movement of peoples all over the East,—with its present spearpoint in China, which is determining the course of all human life upon this planet for several generations to come. And most of the supposedly intelligent persons of the West, to say nothing of the millions, victims of prejudice and dupes of propaganda, know next to nothing of what is going on and still less as to its meaning. Therefore, if I were dictator, I would make every public official, teacher, newspaper man, preacher, and then every high school senior, read this book.

And I would have no trouble in enforcing the order after they had read the first sentence: "All Asia has flared into revolt against the dominant white man." If only more historians had a little—just a little—journalistic training and experience! For this is history. And not only current history, unrecorded elsewhere, and set down here with singular insight and rare sympathy, because the writer, like Caesar, has seen the events and movements he describes, and has been part of many of them in very varied experiences. Added to this is the historic background of the present situation. The brief description of how the whites came to dominate is a masterly bit of time-saving historic summary. Nowhere else have I seen so fair and penetrating account of the part that Russia has played, and must play, in Asia. If only the missionaries over there would read it, and then go and talk to some real, live Russians, as few of them now do, and therefore get the hide taken off them by some of the brethren as well as the exploiters.

Those who have recently examined without prejudice the nationalistic movements in Asia will bear testimony that the facts justify the sub-title of this book: "The End of the White Man's Domination." The closing chapter in the story of colonies and conquest is now being written. Too long has the white man exploited and dominated Asia and Africa. His own principle that "governments derive their powers from the consent of the governed" now rises to destroy his rule, and the brown and yellow peoples—followed presently by the blacks—will henceforth have neither his trade, his culture nor his religion, except upon a squarely reciprocal basis. Since China discovered "the economic weapon" the West is powerless to enforce its will. A Pan-Asiatic movement is not practical politics now, but psychological currents and economic forces are drawing its component parts together, and we, with our attitudes, are doing as much as Britain, with its acts, to throw Russia back into Asia.

Marred a little by the haste of getting out an "extra," with a too brief glimpse at Near-Eastern movements, the case of the "reporter" is established by reflective judgment. What about the vision of the "seer" who from these observations essays to esti-

² Published by McBride. Through the World Tomorrow Book Shop, \$3.

¹ Published by Putnam. Through the World Tomorrow Book Shop, \$2.50.

mate the possible trends of events. Here, too, we agree. If the White Man resists the Colored Man's determination to have control in his own house and a "proportionate say in the general convocation of humanity," he will bring about the destruction of both. One way lies the pool of all human resources for mutual development, the other a devastated and devitalized world. This nation holds the casting vote, for Europe has not strength to put down the revolt in Asia. We may be pushed to the vanguard of destruction by our race prejudice, or betrayed by our rigid adherence to "principles" that have lost reality for lack of adaptation to a changing world. But—and this the author does not assess—we are also driven by a remorselessly, acquisitive, economic method. It will be the tragedy of history if, in this day of revolt against exploitation, our nation is drawn unconsciously into the forefront of economic imperialism. We take our choice. We share our economic resources and skill, along with our culture, or we become The Great Destroyer.

HARRY F. WARD.

A Full and Useful Life

THE flood of biography continues to roll in. Now it brings the life of *James Bryce* by H. A. L. Fisher. An astonishing man! He brought a fine mind, intellectual honesty, personal charm and generosity to scholarship and statecraft. His books on Germany, the United States and even the lugubrious *Modern Democracies* will live. He made many parts of the world his debtor. Sometimes wrong; he never gave up his intelligence or integrity. Public affairs need more men like Bryce the scholar and statesman. (Published by the Macmillan Co. Through The World Tomorrow Bookshop, 2 vols., \$8.)

H. C. E.

Reading List on the Caribbean

- Aspects of Mexican Civilization*, by Vasconcelos and Gamio. University of Chicago Press.
- The United States and Latin America*, by John H. Latané. Doubleday Page.
- Some Mexican Problems*, by Moises Saenz and Herbert I. Priestly. University of Chicago Press.
- The Monroe Doctrine*, by A. Alvarez. Oxford Press.
- The Republics of Latin America*, by P. Martin and H. G. James. Harper.
- The Five Republics of Central America*, by D. G. Munro. Oxford Press.
- Mexico—An Interpretation*, by Carlton Beals. Huebsch.
- The Diplomatic Protection of Citizens Abroad*, by E. M. Borchard. Banks Law Publishing Co.
- International Relations*, by R. L. Buell. Holt.
- Imperialism and World Politics*, by Parker Moon. Macmillan.
- Dollar Diplomacy*, by Scott Nearing and Joseph Freeman. Viking Press.
- American Investments Abroad*, by Robert W. Dunn. Viking Press.

A. A. S.

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HONORABLE MENTION

"What book have you recently found especially worth while?"
In response to this query we have received
the following titles:

FLOYD DELL, novelist and critic: "*The Revolt of Modern Youth*," by Judge Ben B. Lindsey (Boni and Liveright).

JAMES WELDON JOHNSON, poet, Secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People: "*This Believing World*," by Lewis Browne (Macmillan).

KATE RICHARDS O'HARE, Instructor at Commonwealth College, Mena, Ark.: "*Our Rural Heritage*," by James Mickel Williams (Alfred A. Knopf).

Criticism as She Is Writ

Recently we heard one hold forth rhetorically concerning "Elmer Gantry" by Sinclair Lewis. He had not read the book, but "at least a dozen reviews." We read the volume, 432 pages, and turned to the reviews. The Editor of the *American Mercury*, critic of the critics of God (criticus criticorum dei), gave three pages of comments. We learn that this book is "without flaws," "beautifully designed," "all sound," "the most vivid and loving, the most gaudy and glorious, the most dreadful and perfect portrait of a man of God," that Elmer Gantry is "a sincere man," that "everyone of the characters are real," that "the accuracy of the book is obvious," that "it will color the whole stream of national thought," that "in six months every Wesleyan spouter in the land will be jeered at as a Gantry." And then, alas! we recalled that the book was dedicated to this same critic who was merely putting his *imprimatur* upon it. We remembered also that the *Manchester Guardian* had within the month declared that "Mr. Mencken after proving himself to be a critic of the first calibre often relapsed into an infantile racket."

We also made the interesting discovery that the Communist *Daily Worker* agrees with the above estimate of the book in all essentials. At last the Dalai Lama of the Tories and the "Great Unwashed" have found common ground. Perhaps we ought to ask a investigation of this alliance by who ever is in charge of plots these days. Or else the Commies ought to insist that their new ally extend his cooperation to economics and cease his slanderous remarks concerning their sanitation. As for criticism of "Elmer Gantry" we reiterate that we have read the book—dedication and all.

Please remember RENEWALS or CHANGES OF ADDRESS should reach us by the 10th of the month to be entered for the following issue.

THE WORLD TOMORROW

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The American Labor Year Book 1927, by Solon De Leon, Director, and Nathan Fine, Associate, of the Labor Research Department of the Rand School of Social Science. New York: Rand Book Store, 1927. 7½ x 5. 252 pages. \$1.50. For the eighth time comes this invaluable handbook, with all the important new facts and developments.

Europe, by Sisley Huddleston. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1927. 8¾ x 6. 613 pages. \$5. A comprehensive, frank, and sympathetic study of "the intellectual mother of Europe," past, present, and with a hint at prophecy.

Social Differentiation, by Cecil Clare North. Chapel Hill, N. C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1926. 9 x 6. 343 pages. \$2.50. How men are separated into groups, what keeps them apart, the problem of unity, and why it matters to the future.

Anthony Comstock, Roundsman of the Lord, by Heywood Broun and Margaret Leech. New York. A. and C. Boni, 1927. 9 x 5¾. 285 pages. \$3. You just can't know your United States without knowing your Comstock.

The Pocket Oxford Dictionary, compiled by F. G. Fowler and H. W. Fowler; American ed. rev. by George Van Santvoord. New York: Oxford University Press, 1927. 6¾ x 4. 1029 pages. \$2. Humor may be out of place in a dictionary, as Mark Twain said, but a sense of humor is useful in deciphering the abbreviations in this volume. Otherwise, adequate and convenient.

Words to the Deaf, by Guglielmo Ferrero. New York: Putnam, 1926. 5½ x 7½. 165 pages. \$2. A great Italian historian discusses Western civilization and warns against the menace of illimitable desires and irresponsible power.

Jesus the Nazarene, by Maurice Goguel. New York: Appleton, 1926. 5½ x 8¾. 320 pages. \$3. A great French scholar here discusses the historicity of Jesus. Unlike Brandes he concludes that the founder of Christianity was not a myth, but an historical figure.

An Outline of Contemporary Drama, by Thomas H. Dickinson. New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1927. 5¼ x 7¾. 299 pages. \$2. From Ibsen to O'Neill. An excellent international survey of the drama with full bibliographies.

China and Her Political Entity, by Shuhsi Hsü. New York: Oxford University Press, 1926. 5½ x 7½. 430 pages. \$2. A reliable and interesting historical study of China's foreign relations.

THIRD ANNUAL

SUMMER CONFERENCE

(Formerly Held at Olivet, Michigan)

Under the Auspices of

Fellowship for a Christian Social Order
on the Campus of Hillsdale College

Hillsdale, Michigan, August 1-27, 1927

NATURE OF THE CONFERENCE

THE discussion method will be used throughout the conference and formal addresses will be avoided. The only part of the program which will be pre-determined is the selection of themes which was made by last year's group: *International Relations*, August 1-6; *Economic-Industrial Relations*, August 8-13; *Family Relations*, August 15-20; *Educational Method*, August 22-27.

There will be two sessions each morning and one each evening—all out of doors when the weather permits. At the first session of each week the Chairman will seek to discover from the group assembled their real perplexities and concerns regarding the theme for the week. The conference leaders, together with members of the conference who wish to share in building the program, will, at the close of each session, plan for the next in the light of the preceding discussions. From six to ten persons with special knowledge or experience relating to the theme of each week will be present to contribute democratically, as called upon, to the discussions.

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RATES AND REGISTRATION

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Redemption, An Anthology of the Cross, edited by George Stewart. New York: George H. Doran Co., 1927. 6 x 9 328 pages. \$3. Selection from the poets of all ages dealing with the theme of sacrifice.

The Crucifixion in Our Street, by George Stewart. New York: George H. Doran Co., 1927. 5½ x 7¾. 170 pages. \$1.35. Meditations upon the significance of the Cross of Calvary, by one of the ministers of Madison Avenue Presbyterian Church, New York.

Evolution in Science and Religion, by Robert Andrews Millikan. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1927. 5½ x 8¾. 95 pages. \$1. A humble minded winner of the Nobel Prize in Physics discusses the validity of religious ideas and experiences in the light of modern scientific knowledge. The Terry Lectures of 1926 at Yale.

Pacifism in Theory and Practise, by Sidney Spencer. Edinburgh: W. F. Henderson. 4¼ x 6½. 83 pages. \$.75. An excellent summary of the absolutist position against war.

Man and the State, by Wm. Ernest Hocking. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1926. 6¾ x 9¾. 463 pages. \$4. A brilliant study of the psychological foundations of the state.

Italy and Fascism, by Don Sturzo. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1926. 6 x 9. 305 pages. \$3.75. This dispassionate, although not impartial, survey by the former leader of the Catholic Popular party, now living in exile in England, is an important contribution to the literature on Fascism. Gilbert Murray has written a trenchant preface.

Revolt in the Desert, by T. E. Lawrence. New York: George H. Doran Co., 1926. 5¾ x 9. 328 pages. \$3. Full of picturesque incidents and excitement. Splendidly written. The story of the British fomented revolt of the Arabs against the Turks during the World War.

Pheasant Jungles, by William Beebe. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1927. 5½ x 8½. 243 pages. \$3. The intimate story of his romantically hazardous seventeen months in the Far East in search of pheasants. Good reading for adventuring spirits.

The Minister's Daughter, by Hildur Dixelius. Translated from the Swedish by Anna C. Settergren. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., 1926. 5 x 7½. 277 pages. \$2.50. An exquisitely written novel in which the character work is unusually strong.

The Myth of the Individual, by Charles W. Wood. New York: John Day Co., 1927. 5¾ x 8½. 297 pages. \$2.50. Turn a brilliant satirist with a touch of poesy and a style which was almost said was individual on a job like this, and man indeed becomes Man. If you have enough individuality left to enjoy it, don't postpone your pleasure.

Religion on the Campus, edited by Francis P. Miller. New York: Association Press, 1927. 5 x 7½. 198 pages. \$1.50. A résumé of the National Student Conference at Milwaukee. The sort of thing you'd expect to find dull and tiresome, and most distinctly isn't.

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January to December, 1926

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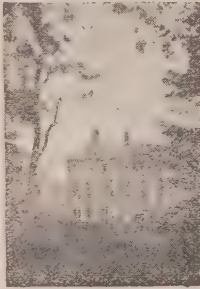
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For Group Discussion

These questions have been added to the information in this issue for those who are interested in challenging or testing the point of view represented by the contributors. Such interest can largely enriched if a group can meet and discuss the points at which they differ in theory or practice with one another or with the convictions here presented. The Editors and Miss Loucks will welcome criticisms or suggestions as to the usefulness of the questions.

Whither Bound in the Caribbean

I. For which of the following reasons would you be willing hold intervention or exercise of control by the United States in the Caribbean countries justified?

To protect investments?

To protect lives of American citizens?

To insure the production of necessary raw materials?

To provide naval or military security?

To keep order in the country?

Why would you take the position indicated above?

II. On which of the above reasons do you feel American intervention to be based in Haiti? Porto Rico? Nicaragua? Mexico? On what is your opinion based? From what sources have you gotten your information?

III. Of what other interests would you be conscious if you were looking at the question of America's policy in the Caribbean from Mexico City? Haiti? London? Moscow?

IV. What would be your attitude towards the same policies were you a citizen of Haiti? Nicaragua? Etc.? What is the prevailing public opinions in those countries? On what is it based?

V. To what extent do you feel the intervention of the U. S. has accomplished or bids fair to accomplish its purpose?

VI. Why would you agree or disagree with the statement that America is at the parting of the ways in regard to her policy in the Caribbean? Why is the solution of the Caribbean problem important in international relationships?

VII. Where does the Monroe Doctrine play into the question historically, at present? What would be the advantages or disadvantages of replacing it by Pan American mutual guarantee pact?

VIII. What possibilities are there for the development of the Caribbean countries by way of League of American Nations? Enlargement of the present Pan American Union? Codification of Pan American law? Cooperation through the League of Nations?

IX. What in the racial, cultural or political backgrounds of these countries would help or hinder any of these proposals?

X. Where does religious idealism play in the solution of the Caribbean problem?

XI. Where does your solution touch you as a business man? a woman? a member of a church? a member of a labor union? an investor? a student? What progressive types of study or action are possible for these groups to help bring your proposed solution to pass?

GRACE H. LOUCKS.

Brookwood Labor College

SING from small beginnings five years ago at Katonah, N. Y., the Brookwood school for workers has grown so that it finds itself confronted with the problems of housing, equipment endowment, etc. In order to meet these needs a building endowment fund of \$2,000,000 is sought.

Manumit Summer School

THE Teachers Union is planning a summer school for teachers at Pawling, N. Y., from July 8 to August 31. Prospectus may be had from the Union at 70 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

Youth Group Meetings

THE International F. O. R. is conducting a Youth Camp from August 3 to 10 at Vaumarcus in French Switzerland. The subject will be "St. Francis and the Youth of Today." Information from the International F. O. R., 16 Red Lion Square, London, E. C. 1, England.

A meeting of various Youth groups and a Summer Seminar will be held at Heidelberg, Germany, from July 20 to August 10. Full information from the Leader, Brent Dow Allinson, 49 Claremont Avenue, New York City.

Peace Meeting

THE Annual Meeting of the Women's International League will be held in Cleveland, O., from April 29 to May 2. National Headquarters, 522 Seventeenth Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.

STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, required by the Act of Congress of August 24, 1912, of THE WORLD TOMORROW, published monthly at New York, N. Y., for April 1, 1927.

at New York, ss:
City of New York,
Before me, a Notary Public in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared Agnes A. Sharp, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that she is the managing editor of THE WORLD TOMORROW, and that the following is, to the best of her knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management (and if a newspaper, the circulation), etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, embodied in section 411, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form to wit:
That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, business managers are: Publisher, The World Tomorrow Inc., 52 Vanderbilt Ave., N. Y.; Editors, Kirby Page, Devere Allen, 52 Vanderbilt Ave., N. Y.; Managing Editor, Agnes A. Sharp; Business Manager, none.
That the owner is: (If owned by a corporation, its name and address must be stated and also immediately thereunder the names and addresses of the stockholders owning or holding one per cent or more of total amount of stock. If not owned by a corporation, the names and addresses of the individual owners must be given. If owned by a firm, company, or other unincorporated concern, its name and address, as well as those of each individual owner, must be given.) The World Tomorrow Inc., 52 Vanderbilt Ave., N. Y. (a non-stock corporation); John Nevin Sayre, 104 East Ninth St., N. Y.; President; Vice-President, none; Grace Hutchins, Secretary, 52 Vanderbilt Ave., N. Y.; Kenneth E. Walser, Treasurer, 67 Wall St., N. Y.
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That the two paragraphs next above, giving the names of the owners, stockholders, and security holders, if any, contain not only the list of stockholders and security holders as they appear upon the books of the company at the date of the filing of this statement, but also, in cases where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting, is given; also that the said two paragraphs contain statements embracing affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which the stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of bona fide owner; and this affiant has no reason to believe that any other person, association, or corporation has any interest direct or indirect in the stock, bonds or other securities than as so stated by him.
That the average number of copies of each issue of this publication sold or distributed, through the mails or otherwise, to paid subscribers during the months preceding the date shown above is..... (This information is required from daily publications only.)

AGNES A. SHARP,
Managing Editor.

(Signed) FLORENCE M. BAILEY,
Notary Public,
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New York Co. Clerk's No. 21, Register No. 9586; Kings Co. Clerk's No. 76. (My commission expires March 30, 1929.)

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World challenges to Christianity in our generation. Emphasizes the necessity of establishing just conditions in industry, race relations, internationalism and all other relations of life. Shows the necessity of cooperation between East and West. (Off the press about May 25.) \$1.00

Missionary Education Movement
150 Fifth Avenue New York, N. Y.

The Last Page

IN *The Federation News*, Gus McCarten, business manager of the newest Chicago union, propounds a question to all progressive citizens. Says Bro. McCarten: "Why go into a union restaurant, eat union made bread and union butchered meat, cut by a union meat cutter, working union hours, with union made saws and butcher knives on a block made by a union carpenter, served by a waitress wearing the union button, and then use non-union teeth in masticating the union food, in the union restaurant, served by a union waitress?"

While I wish no harm to Local 17927 of the Dental Laboratory Mechanics Union, affiliated with the A. F. of L., I submit that the query is hardly a fair one. If one's parents simply vented their anti-union bias by failing to dedicate their child's teeth to unionism in the loyal manner, should their failure to register their offspring's masticators and pay dues during the years of growth militate against him all his life? Nobody likes to go around with scab teeth in his mouth; but if one's molars decide to insist on an eight hour day, isn't there danger of one's stomach going on a sympathy strike? And if one tooth becomes disgruntled and has to be eliminated, is there danger that the rest will go out in dudgeon? Of course, we may come to complete unionization of teeth in time; but for the great bulk of humanity, thank heaven, there are many bridges to cross before that situation comes to pass.

* * *

WILL capitalist horrors never cease? *Die Rote Fahne*, the German Communist organ, has made an appeal to American labor to stand by Charlie Chaplin, the friend of the workers, against the capitalist oppression of his wife. This is truly a tremendous issue, and I shall be greatly surprised if it doesn't give birth to at least two or three more Internationals.

And down in Pittsburgh, that center of pure politics, a bunch of pastors have succeeded in removing the danger of Sunday night symphony concerts by the city's newly-formed orchestra. Here, too, is a momentous matter, and if a new dispensation doesn't bring forth a couple of young denominations to lead us out of sin and error, it will be a dark day even for Pittsburgh.

* * *

IHAVE received a letter from a gentleman who signs himself "P. Toasties." I really think the name is assumed; when it comes to that sort of joke, I can see real well. (Get that one?)

Says Posty: "I appreciate the dream picture of *The Nation*, *The New Republic*, and *The Survey* you have given us in *THE WORLD TOMORROW* for March. Can't you present us, in your same illimitable style, with the following also?"

Now I simply can't go on until I explain that Mr. Toasties,

Great Portraits of Little People

V

The good old gentleman who has been reading the daily papers, and who thinks it is simply terrible about the propaganda of those Reds in China.

I am certain, did not really mean to say "illimitable." What meant, of course, was "inimitable." Careful next time, Post, boy. Here, however, are his suggestions for me to handle, refuse, but we'll let him handle 'em in his own way:

"The Popular Lady Preacher, Peaches, in her huge ter revival meetings calling wayward sinners to come and war in the Blood of the Lamb."

"A frank and fearless portrayal of the private life of 1 Haldeman-Julius as visualized by the Association of Evangelical Sunday School Teachers of Tennessee."

"The English Channel revisited by Grandmother Trudy in the Fat Fifties."

"Speeches of the present Workers (Communist) Part when they occupy the positions of President, Vice-President and members of the Cabinet of the United States, in an age when bureaucrats, job holders, and autocratic officials no longer exist."

"Speeches or editorials of Abe Cahan, President William Green of the A. F. of L., Matt Woll and their co-workers in a world where there are no Communists."

"H. L. Mencken on his eightieth birthday, before an acclaiming host in Madison Square Garden, elected President of the Anti-Vice Crusaders League, distributing among hundreds of captains of all vice squads of Greater New York gold pieces and calling their attention to the inscription thereon—'In God We Trust.'"

"P.S. As is my custom, I sought the approval of my pastor before mailing this letter (he has a rich background of experience and social connections). My pastor tells me that people who own gold pieces do not trust in God; they simply hang on to the coins. It is, he says, only the people who depend on small silver who are handed this bit of comfort by a generous government."

"S.O.S. Heretofore, I have been making a precarious living by lubricating and repairing the swivels of editors' chairs. Do theological seminaries take in students over fifty years of age and train them for the pastorate? I understand you have had some experience and can guide me. P. T."

Here is a standard example of how to get yourself in print. Just write in some suggestions which are too ridiculous to mention, and next month, as sure as death, taxes, or a State Department alibi, a weak-minded department editor will let them appear in type. I'm stumped, however, by the questions at the end. My own chair has no swivel; I don't even know what a swivel is though I've heard of them all my life. So I can't offer a temporary employment to tide P. Toasties over. Nor am I well informed about theological seminaries, though I believe it is true that some of them have—um—taken students in. My impression, is, however, that years make little difference. They can grab any young fellow and make him more than fifty years old in a couple of years.

* * *

NEWs comes that Maryland agriculturists, vexed at the favor shown to products raised in Florida and Southern California, have begun to market what they label "Nordic" pe- lettuce, and asparagus. I suppose the new products will be advertised as having higher vitamine content than other green stuff. Personally, I can't say. I have never yet seen a vegetable claimed to be a Nordic. I have, however, met with Nordic whom I considered vegetables.

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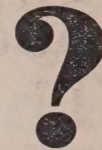
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Choose the Best Answer

6. Information about sex matters should first be given to a child—
 - a. Before he starts going to school
 - b. At the age of eight
 - c. At the age of twelve
 - d. When he first indicates an interest along that line
21. It is often not wise to put a child to bed as punishment because—
 - a. He may lie awake
 - b. He may learn to dislike his bed
 - c. He may feel thwarted
 - d. He may cry
27. When a child is indulging in a temper tantrum you can often help him most by—
 - a. Leaving him alone
 - b. Talking to him and trying to reason with him
 - c. Holding him firmly
 - d. Giving him what he wants
8. An average child may be expected to keep dry at night by the age of—
 - a. Nine months
 - b. Twelve months
 - c. Twenty-four months
 - d. Thirty-six months
20. If a fourteen year old daughter wants to go out at night to meet boys—
 - a. Encourage her to go
 - b. Forbid her going out at night at all
 - c. Invite some boys and girls frequently to her home
 - d. Try to interest her in girls
24. To establish a new habit and break down an old one the best procedure is—
 - a. Remove all temptations to the old habit
 - b. Make the old habit very unpleasant
 - c. Make the new habit pleasant
 - d. Combine 2 and 3

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